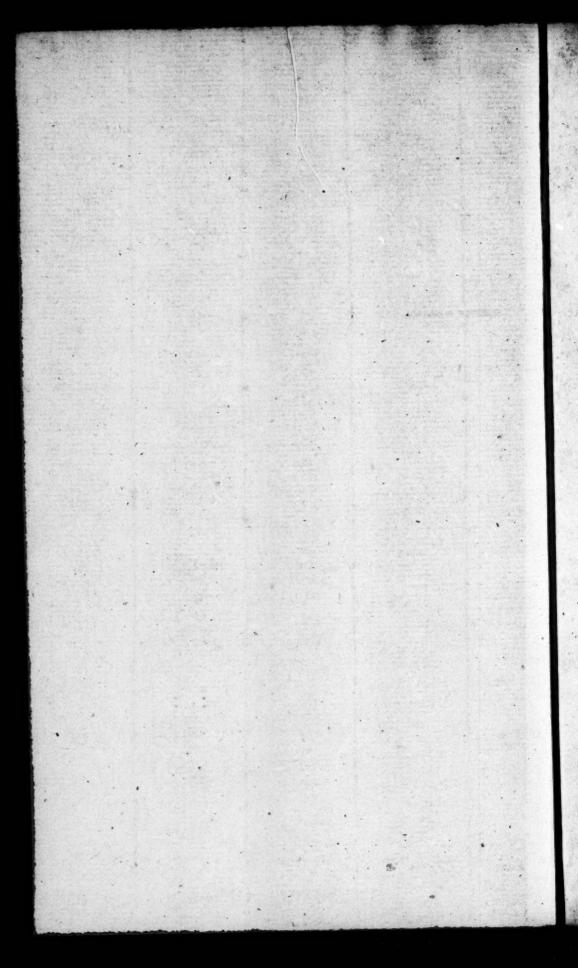
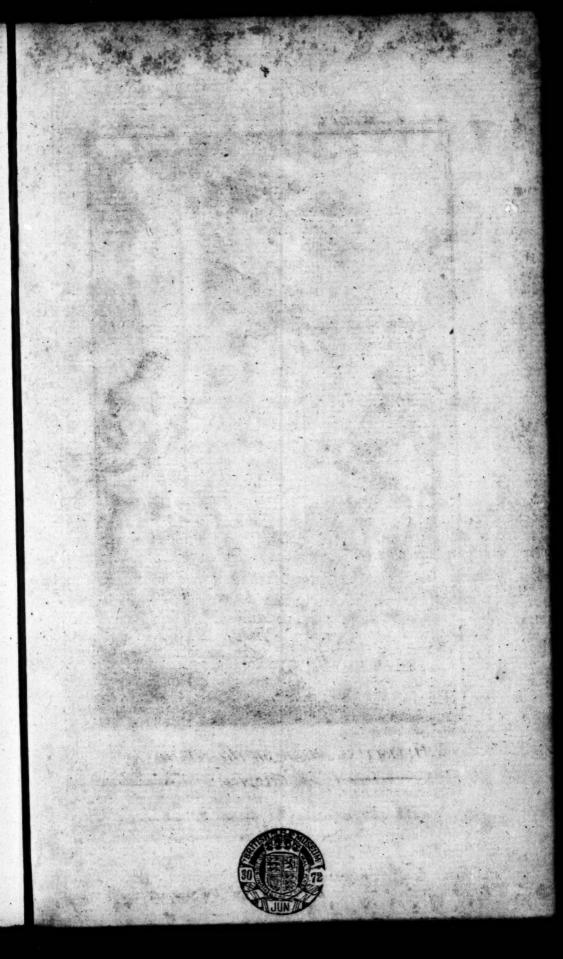
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MARIUS setting on the Ruins of CARTHAGE.

Rublish'd February 5th 743. by J. & P. Knapton -

ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE

FOUNDATION OF ROME

TO THE

BATTLE of ACTIUM:

THAT IS,

To the End of the COMMONWEALTH.

VOL. X.

By Mr CREVIER, Professor of Rhetorick in the College of Beauvais, being the Continuation of Mr ROLLIN's Work.

Translated from the FRENCH.

The SECOND EDITION.

Illustrated with Maps, and Copper Plates.

LONDON:

Printed for J. and P. KNAPTON, in Ludgate-Street.

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I Thought, that it was perhaps without much reflection a certain Writer of reputation in feveral kinds of literature had advanced, as I have observed in the Advertisement to the ninth Volume, that the serious study of History ought not to be began till towards the end of the fisteenth century. I was deceived; it was not an opinion, that had escaped him inconsiderately; it seems it is a System, a Thesis, that he maintains with argumentation and ptooss.

To treat Ancient History, says he, * is in * Considermy opinion, to compile some truths with a ations upon
thousand lies. That History is perhaps use-annexed to
ful as Fable is so.—The exploits of Alex-the Merope Franander are to be known only as we know the goise,
Labours of Hercules.

2. 115.

I admit

I admit that a critical discernment is necessary in the Study of Ancient History, and that we ought not blindly to adopt all that we find laid down in books. But there are rules for distinguishing the true from the false, and if it be weakness to believe, it is rashness to reject every thing.

I proceed, for instance, to a principle equally fimple and luminous, which ought to reconcile the illustrious Author, whom I take the liberty to refute, at least to a partof the Facts of Ancient History. It is not the remoteness of time, that occasions uncertainty in respect to those facts; it is the want of Cotemporary Writers. If events had been delivered down to Posterity by persons of sense, who had either been witneffes, or actors, in them, or who had means of being exactly informed in them. we should then, in reading their works, become ourselves in some measure Cotemporary with those facts: and I really believe, we can no more doubt what Polybius has left us concerning the war of Hannibal. than what Comines has wrote in his Hiftory. Admitting this, wherefore should we banish

banish the History of Alexander into the region of Fables, and place it on a level with the labours of Hercules? Not to mention a thousand other proofs, that History had been wrote by Ptolemy son of Lagus, and by Aristobulus, both companions of that samous conqueror in all his expeditions; and Arrian, whose Work we have, has followed the Memoirs of those two cotemporary Writers. In consequence the History of Alexander admits no doubt, and the most excessive Pyrrhonism inself cannot call its certainty in question.

As much may be faid in respect to the History of Greece by the Persians written by Herodotus; to that of the Peloponnesian War by Thucydides, and the continuation of it by Xenophon. The same principle applied to the Roman History supports us entirely in regard to the facts related by Cæfar, Sallust, Tacitus, Suetonius; and in going back a little farther, by Polybius, a writer of no great elegance, but infinitely judicious, and one, whose authority has always been extremely revered. I cite this fmall number of Authors and facts by way of examples; not that I pretend to call in A 3 question indi

question the certainty of the Roman History before the time of Pyrrhus, as a certain Author of great merit has done. But it would require more discussion to establish that certainty, than would fuit this Advertisement; and I must be contented to refer the Reader upon this head to the various Differtations of the Learned of the Academy of the Belles Lettres, in which it has been clearly proved.

I infer then, that Polybius is a Writer, whose authority is indisputable; and therefore I cannot eafily conceive how any one can find room for ridiculing what Mr. Anc. Hift, Rollin has related after him concerning the Vol.VIII. Tyrant Nabis, and the cruel machine, which he used for tormenting those, who refused to give him money. And indeed neither Polybius, nor Mr. Rollin; fay, that Tyrant made those, who brought him mony, fur l'Hist. embrace his wife; which is an unfair addition, to the narration of those Historians. But as to the rest what difficulty is there to comprehend, that a machine in the shape of a Woman, and provided under cloaths with iron spikes, might be made to move by the means of springs; and

that

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§ VII. Polyb.

I. XIII.

Confid.

p. 120.

that by preffing it against the breast of a man it might torture him extreamly: This Mr. Rollin relates after Polybius, who might have seen Nabis, and had passed his youth with persons of that Tyrant's intimate acquaintance.

I do not think in the same manner of Curtius's accounts, the shields that fell from Heaven, and the like stories, justly rejected by the ingenious Censor. Mr. Rollin repeats them as he found them in the originals, but without believing them himself, or expecting his Readers to believe them. It was impossible to omit them in a Roman History; which suffices to justify him.

But the regard which I have for the memory of that great man does not admit me to be filent on our Critick's affecting to distinguish him most frequently by the single title of Rheteur, Rhetorician. He would undoubtedly have taken no offence at a name, that is no less honourable than that of a Poet. But it is so easy to have added other characters to it, as polite Writer, and nervous Author,

whose animated Works inspire the love of virtue and respect for Religion; zealous for the publick good, modest Censurer, noble and generous foul, who praises with joy, and blames with referve and repugnance; it is, I fay, fo eafy to have defigned him by these marks and abundance of others that have acquired him the praises of all Europe, that I cannot fufficiently wonder to find him described folely by the most minute of all his titles. When a person thinks himself obliged to censure such a Writer, in my opinion, the least he can do is to begin by giving him his due praise, and that it is shewing a regard for one's own reputation, to pay homage to that of a man fo univerfally esteemed.

It is not that I confider the quality of Rhetorician as below Mr. Rollin. Every prof. sion of a man of letters is noble in itself and by its object; the only question is to exercise with superiority, as he has done. In this point I think him capable of sustaining his adversary's charge with advantage; and this I undertake to prove the more willingly, as in justifying him I shall

I shall at the same time justify one of the finest of our Orators.

The fame Critick blames Mr. Rollin Lettre for for having quoted the following paffage l'Espritin Mr. Flechier's funeral Oration upon the Marshal Turenne with praise: Powers enemies to France you live: and Christian Charity forbids me to frame any wishes for your deaths. May you only acknowledge the justice of our arms; accept the peace, which notwithstanding your losses you bave so often rejected; and with the abundance of your tears extinguish the flames of a war you have unfortunately kindled. God forbid, that I should carry my wishes farther! The judgments of God are impenetrable. But you live : and I deplore in this Chair a wife and virtuous Captain, whose intentions were pure and upright, and whose virtue seemed to merit a greater extent of life. This is the passage criticifed, which it was proper to repeat in all its extent. We come now to our Critick's observations.

"An Apostrophe in this taste might have been proper at Rome in the "Civi

" Civil War after the affaffination of " Pompey, or in London after the mur-" ther of Charles the First; because the " interests of Pompey and Charles the "First were the question. But does it " confift with decency ingenuously in the " roftrum to defire the deaths of the Em-" peror, the King of Spain and the Elec-" tors, and to put in ballance with them the General of a King their enemy? " Are the intentions of a Captain, which " can extend no farther than the fervice of his Prince, to be compared with the " political interests of the crowned Heads, " against whom he served? What should we fay of a German, who should have defired the death of the King of France, on the occasion of General Mercy's being killed, whose intentions were " pure and upright? Why then has this " passage always been praised by Rheto-" ricians? It is because the Figure in it-" felf is fine and pathetick; but they do " not examine the thought with respect to its foundation and confistency. Plu-" tarch has faid to Flechier: You have " faid a fine thing; but all it wants is application." It

It must be owned, that this Criticism is very severe. I must however add, that it could only come from a man of a fine genius, and a great judge of consistency.

But is it real, that the Orator defires the death of the Emperor and the King of Spain? He condemns that wish; he disowns it; and confines himself to vows more conformable to morality and religion, and which are by no means repugnant to the respect due to Potentates, the enemies.

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He indeed, though with abundance of referve, makes a comparison between the Powers then at war with France and the Prince of Turenne, and from that comparison he seems to infer, that the French General was more worthy of living: so that had it been left to the choice and judgment of the Orator, upon whom the thunder ought to have fallen, he would have saved the Marshal Turenne. But what is there of injurious to Princes, not only foreigners, but strangers, in a preference founded solely upon personal qualities,

and

and which does not in the least attack the sublime preheminence of crowned Heads. Such an Apostrophe had undoubtedly been wrong placed at Vienna and Madrid: But it was spoke at Paris.

As to M. Turenne's pure intentions, which, fays our Author, could only be to ferve his King, it is certain in a Monarchical State, That is the principal duty of a General, confidered as fuch. But as a Man and a Christian, he can and ought to unite with his intention of ferving his Prince, that of contributing to the re-establishment of Peace, and direct his whole conduct to that end with entire integrity, not to be diverted by any view of particular interest. It is this purity and uprightness of intention for peace, that Mr. Flechier feems to have had principally in view, and which he opposes to the conduct of the enemy Princes, who have unfortunately kindled the war.

This passage therefore of Mr. Flechier does not seem a fine thing without application, and one which is only to be praised by Rhetoricians.

II. At

II. At the same time that I think it allowable for me to observe upon an illustrious Author's want of deference for Mr. Rollin, I am afraid I shall appear myself in this tenth Volume to forget the respect I owe him on fo many accounts. I begin in it to treat the war of Mithridates anew. which he has related in the Ancient Hiftory: and if Plutarch thinks himself obliged to excuse himself to his Readers for venturing to relate the unfortunate expedition of the Athenians against Sicily after Thucydides, the fituation I am in with respect to Mr. Rollin makes it a much more indispensible duty for me at least to give the publick an account of the motives of those rather to take it done that stoods

My first inclination was no doubt to respect a subject already executed by my
Master, and to take all the advantage from
his riches that I possibly could. This plan
was at once both the most modest and the
safest. I might securely have relied upon
the approbation of the Publick, at least
for the borrowed passages that it has already received so favourably. But I thought,

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then to work upon it myfelf.

that by observing such a conduct, I should present the Publick with what it already possessed: and I assured myself, that it was meritorious to do otherwise, even though not so well.

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Besides which, it could not be required of Mr. Rollin to treat the subjects, he had already related, as they occurred in a new manner. The same person has often but one way of considering an object. It would be but a superstuous kind of secundity and worthy only of the Schools, to pique one-self upon persorming two quite different works upon the same Historian. But as for me, to whom the subject is entirely new, I might be accused of sloth, if I chose rather to take it done to my hand, then to work upon it myself.

These considerations had already made a great impression upon me, and the opinion of friends, I have reason to respect, finally determined me.

New mirror land on the war no on the land of the

I therefore give here the beginning of the War of Mithridates treated in my own manner, and I shall do the same in respect

respect to the other common subjects of the Ancient and Roman Histories.

I only intreat, that I may not be compared with my Master; and if my work considered in itself, be so fortunate not entirely to displease, that nothing more be required at my hands, and that I may not be reproached, for not having done better than was in my power,

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Names of the Consucs, &c.

Names of the Consuls and of the YEARS contained in this Volume.

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L. Cornelius Sylla. Q. Pompeius Rufus.	A. R. 664. Ant. C. 88.
Cn. Octavius. L. Cornelius Cinna.	A. R. 665. Ant. C. 87.
C. Marius VII, and after his death, L. Valerius Flaccus. L. Cornelius Cinna II.	A. R. 666. Ant. C. 86.
L. Cornelius Cinna III.	A. R. 667. Ant. C. 85.
L. Cornelius Cinna IV. Cn. Papirius Carbo II.	A. R. 668. Ant. C. 84.
L. Cornelius Scipio otagon and all C. Norbanus. Sulutual and	A. R. 669. Ant. C. 83.
C. Marius. Carbot III.	A. R. 670. Ant, C. 82.
Sylla Dictator. M. Tullius Decula. Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.	
L. Cornelius Sylla Felix II. QCECILIUS METELLUS PIUS.	A. R. 672

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Names of the Consuls, &c.

P. SERVILIUS VATIA, who was afterwards A. R. 673. furnamed Isauricus. Ant. C. 79. Ap. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. A. R. 674 M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
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SVILLA DICTATOR. M. TULLIUS DECULA. CM. CORNELIOS DOLABELLA.

I. CORNELIUS SYLLA FELIX II. -ROGECILIUS METELLUS PIUL.

BOOK XXXI. Continued.

SECT. II.

Marius's jealousy of Sylla rises to excess on the occasion of a present made by Boccus to the Roman People. Both are ambitious of commanding in the war against Mitbridates. Marius is supported by P. Sulpicius. That Tribune's character. The Senate baving given Sylla the command of the war against Mitbridates, Sulpicius endeavours to make the People transfer it to Marius. Sedition upon that occasion. Marius prevails, and bas the employment he defired conferred upon him by the People. Sylla marches with his army against Rome. Perplexity of Marius. Deputations fent by bim to Sylla in the name of the Senate. The latter seizes Rome. Marius flies. Sylla prevents Rome from being plundered. He reforms the government, raises the authority of the Senate, and depresses that of the People. He causes Marius, Sulpicius, and ten other Senators to be declared enemies of the publick. Sulpicius is taken and killed. Flight of Marius. Sylla's moderation. He suffers Cinna to be elected Conful. Marius's party resume courage. The Con-Jul.

ful Q. Pompeius is killed by his soldiers. Cinna, in order to force Sylla to quit Italy, caufes bim to be accused by a Tribune of the People. He endeavours to have Marius recalled. To succeed in that view, be undertakes to mingle the new citizens with the old tribes. Sedition on that occasion. Cinna is driven out of the city. He has Sertorius with him. Cinna is deprived of the Consulship, and Merula appointed in his flead. He gains the army, which was in Campania. He conciliates the States of Italy to bis interest. Perplexity of the Consuls. Marius returns into Italy, and is received by Cinna. They march against Rome. Pompeius Strabo comes at last to the aid of Rome. Battle, in which one brother kills another. The Samnites join Cinna's party. Death of Pompeius Strabo. Hatred of the public for him. Marius offers Octavius battle, who dares not accept his defiance. Deputies sent to Cinna by the Senate. Merula abdicates the Confulship. New deputa-tion to Cinna. Council held by Marius and . Cinna, wherein the deaths of those of the contrary party are refolved. Marius and Cinna enter the city, which is given up to all the borrors of the war. Death of the Conful Octavius. Death of the two brothers L. and C. Cafar, and of the Craffi, father and fon. Death of the orator M. Antonius, Catulus, and Merula. Horrible flaughter at Rome. Cornutus faved by his flaves. Humanity of the Roman People. Lenity of Sertorius. New cruelties of Marius. His death. Scavala wounded with a dagger at the funeral of Marius. Reflection upon the character of Marius, and bis fortune. Reflection upon the state of Rome. page I

BOOK XXXII.

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SECT. I.

Ancestors and nobility of Mithridates. Comets, the pretended presage of his future greatness. He is exposed in his infancy to the plots of his guardians. They turn to his advantage. His cruelty. He was a great Eater and Drinker. His ambition and first conquests. Actual State of Asia Minor. Mithridates meditates long bis scheme of war with the Romans. He divides Paphlagonia with Nicomedes. After baving extirpated the race of the Kings of Cappadocia, be puts one of his sons in possession of that Kingdom. Competitor opposed by Nicomedes to the son of Mithridates. The Senate baving offered the Cappadosians liberty, they choose rather to have a King, and elect Ariobarzanes, who is put into possession by Sylla, and then dethroned by Tigranes. Nicomedes, son of Nicomedes Philopater, is dethroned by Mithridates. Aquillius is sent by the Senate to reinstate the dethroned Kings. Mithridates forms a powerful league against the Romans. Nicomedes is engaged by Aquillius to make an incursion into the territories of Mitbridates. The latter sends complaints to Rome. Ambiguous answer to the Romans. Mithridates detbrones Ariobarzanes. He sends a new Embassy to the Roman Generals, appealing to the decision of the Senate. The Roman Generals assemble three armies to reinstate Ariobarzanes and defend Nicomedes. Forces of Mitbridates. Nicomedes is defeated by the Generals of Mithridates.

thridates. Aquillius is also overcome. The whole country remains open to Mithridates, who gains the affection of the People by bis lenity and liberality. Speech of Mithridates to his army. All Afia Minor submits to bim. He takes Oppius the Roman General prisoner: then Aquillius, whom he treats with indignities, and upon whom be inflicts a cruel punishment. He marries Monima. The Senate and People of Rome declare against bim. He causes fourscore thousand Romans to be massacred in one day. Rutilius escapes. Horrid calumny of Theophanes against Rutilius. Only the Rhodians continue faithful to the Romans. Mithridates besieges Rhodes in person, and is obliged to raise the siege. Two remarkable circumstances of bis character. Measures which be takes for pushing the war, and invading Greece. History of Aristion the Sophist, who makes Mithridates master of Athens. Bruttius Sura checks the pride of Mithridates. 56 56

SECT. II.

Sylla goes to Greece. Supposed omen of the bad success of Mitbridates. Sylla forms the siege of Athens. He plunders the temples of Olympia, Epidaurus, and Delphi. Comparison between the conduct of Sylla and that of the ancient Roman Generals. Investives of the Athenians against Sylla and his wife. Vigorous desence of Archelaus. Famine in Athens. Aristion regards nothing but divesting himself, and will hearken to no terms of surrendering. The city is taken by force. Sylla is resolved at first to demolish it, but suffers himself to be diffwaded. Aristion is taken in the citadel, and put

put to death. The Piraeus is taken and burnt. Sylla marches against the Generals of Mithridates. Battle of Charonea. New army fent by Mitbridates into Greece. It is defeated before Orchomenus. Lucullus assembles a fleet, and enters the Agean Sea. The Tetrarchs of the Gallo-Gracians put to death by order of Mithridates. The ifle of Chio treated cruelly. Revolt of the cities of Asia, and new cruelties of Mithridates. Negotiation opened by Archelaus at an interview with Sylla. Flaccus lands in Greece. His character, and that of Fimbria bis Lieutenant. Misunderstanding between Flaccus and Fimbria, and murther of Flaccus. Sylla advances towards the Hellespont. Suspicion conceived of Archelaus. Answer of Mitbridates. Haughtiness of Sylla. Fimbria reduces Mithridates to extreme danger. Mithridates resolves to conclude a peace with Sylla. Their interview. Sylla justifies bimself to bis army for baving made peace with Mitbridates. He pursues Fimbria, and reduces him to kill bimself. Dispositions of Sylla after the victory. He gives his soldiers great licence. He lays a fine of twenty thousand talents upon Asia. The Pirates rawage the coasts of Asia. Preference given by Sylla of the war with Mithridates to his personal interests. He prepares to return to Italy.

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BOOK XXXIII.

SECT. I.

Universal bankruptcy. Unjust law of Valerius Flaccus. Alteration of the species of coin. Decree to fix them. Fraud of Marius Gratidianus. Pompey accused of peculation on account of his father. His character. The beauty of his person in his youth. He had prevented bis father's army from quitting bim. Censors. Sylla's letters to the Senate. The Senate's Deputation to Sylla. The Consuls afsemble great forces. Cinna's death. Carbo remains sole Consul. Carbo is for exacting Hostages from the cities of Italy. Constancy of Castricius, Magistrate of Placentia. Adventures of Crassus. He makes some movements in Spain. Metellus Pius driven out of Africa retires to Liguria, and afterwards joins Sylla. Decree of the Senate for disbanding all the armies. Preparations of the Con-Juls against Sylla. Affection of Sylla's soldiers for their General. Sylla lands in Italy, and advances as far as Campania without opposition. Defeat of Norbanus. The capitol burnt. Cethegus goes over to Sylla. Treachery of Veres to Carbo. Sylla debauches Scipio's army. Sertorius goes to Spain. Carbo's Sayings concerning Sylla. Saying of Sylla to Craffus. Pompey, at the age of twenty three, raises an army of three legions. His first victories. He joins Sylla, who pays him great bonours. Antipathy between Pompey and Crassus. Modesty and deference of Pompey for Metellus Pius.

Pius. Carbo Consul for the third time with Marius the younger. The Prator Fabius is burnt in bis palace at Utica. Advantages gained by Sylla's Lieutenants. He makes a treaty with the states of Italy. His confidence. Massacres decreed by the Consul Marius, and executed by Damasippius. Death of Scavola, the Pontifex Maximus. Battle of Sacriportus, in which Marius is defeated by Sylla. Siege of Praneste. Sylla is received into Rome. Ineffectual efforts to succour Praneste. Norbanus and Carbo abandon Italy. Last battle at the gates of Rome between Sylla and the Samnites. Sylla's change of manners. Six thousand prisoners massacred by his orders. Rome filled with murders. Proscription. Catilina's cruelties. Horrible punishment of Marius Gratidianus. Oppianicus gratifies bis private revenge under the colour of the profcription. Cato, at fourteen years of age, is for killing Sylla. Cafar profcribed, and Javed by the intercession of powerful friends. Sylla's words upon that occasion. End of the siege of Præneste. Young Marius's death. Sylla assumes the surname of Happy. Massacre executed by Sylla in Praneste. Cities proscribed, sold, and demolished by Sylla. Pompey is fent into Sicily to pursue the remains of the conquered party. Carbo's death. Death of Soranus. Lenity of Pompey. Generofity of Sthenius. Pompey's entirely laudable conduct in Sicily.

SECT. II.

Sylla causes bimself to be nominated Distator.
Unlimited power given bim. He appears in publick

publick attended in the most terrible manner. He causes Lucretius Ofella to be massacred in the Forum, for standing for the Confulship contrary to his order. He triumphs over Mitbridates. Sylla's Laws. He weakens and depresses the Tribuneship. He augments the inclosure of the city. He fells the estates of the proscribed in a tyrannical manner. Goodwill of a bad Poet rewarded by Sylla. Sylla a man of pleasure. Crassus inriches bimself with the estates of the proscribed. Product arifing from the fale of these estates to the publick Treasury. Affair of Sex. Roscius. Beginnings of Cicero. His birth. His first studies. He is admired from thenceforth. His application on quitting the Schools: Philosophy: Law : Exercises proper for Eloquence. He is charged with the cause of Sex. Roscius, and pleads it with abundance of courage and liberty. He makes a voyage into Afia. Grief of Apollonius Molo on bis account. He practifes Action with Roscius the Comedian. Death of Norbanus. Taking of Nola and Volaterra. Pompey is fent into Africa against Domitius. Ridiculous adventure, that retards bim some days. Battle, in which Domitius is defeated and killed. Pomper carries the war into Numidia. Sylla recalls bim. Emotion of Pompey's foldiers on that occasion. Surname of Great given bim by Sylla, who bowever refuses bim a Triumph. Bold saying of Pompey. His triumph. Sylla at the same time Consul and Distator. Exceeding gratitude of Metellus to the author of bis father's re-establishment. Murena's Triumph, and account of the war he had made with Mitbridates. Mitbridates puts an end to

. to the revolt of the People of Colchis by giving them bis fon for King: and then kills bim. Occasion of Murena's declaring war against Mithridates. Inconsiderable events of that war. End of the war. Verres, Dolabella's Lieutenant, Proconful of Cilicia. He is for taking away the daughter of Philodamus: and afterwards causes Philodamus himself and his fon to be condemned to die. Ten thousand Slaves made free by Sylla. Lands distributed to the officers and foldiers of twenty-three legions. Sylla abdicates the Dictatorship. Reflections upon that event. Ceremony of the abdication. Sylla is insulted by a young man. He reproaches Pompey with having made Lepidus Consul. He gives a feast of several days to the People. Death of Metella. Sylla marries again with Valeria. Sylla bas the lowfy disease. He gives laws to the inhabitants of Puzzuoli. He works upon the Memoirs of bis life till two days before bis death. His will. Last violence of Sylla. He dies. Reflection upon the furname of Fortunate assumed by Sylla. His obsequies.

BOOK XXXIV.

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SECT. II.

Multitude and complication of facts. Order in which they will be distributed. Origin of the war with Spartacus. Character of that Captain, and his first condition. His first successes. Augmentation of his forces. Arms grofly made. Excesses into which the flaves give notwithsanding Spartacus. P. Varinius Prætor, defeated by Spartacus. Moderation and prudence of Spartacus in prosperity. The two Consuls and a Prator fent against bim. Division between the rovolted flaves. Crixus is defeated and killed. Victories gained by Spartacus over the three Roman Generals. Three bundred prisoners forced to fight as Gladiators to bonour the funeral of Crixus. Spartacus marches against Rome. Luxury and bad discipline in the Roman armies. Crassus the Prætor is charged with the war against Spartacus. His severity. He decimates a cobort. He forces Spartacus to retire towards the straits of Sicily. Spartacus endeavours in vain to pass over part of bis troops into Sicily. Crassus shuts bim up in Bruttium by lines drawn from sea to sea. Spartacus forces the lines. Terror of Crassus. gains an advantage that revives his hopes. New victory of Crassus. One of bis lieutenants, and bis Quaftor are defeated. Last battle, in which Spartacus is defeated and killed. Vanity of Pompey, who baving defeated a body of the flying flaves, is for ascribing the glary of terminating the war to himself. Oration decreed to Crassus. - DETACHED FACTS. Varro Lucullus makes conquests in Thrace, and triumphs. Other Proconsuls of Macedonia, who before bim bad

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had made grave against the Topmanns. New cultation of the Store verter mede on all fider. Contain contaming the Tribunalists. Curio, an Grasor of a jungal . And . Info a south Sollars Low against the Probunce. The Renambers wind add in all his rights by Frances Search of Paleullous in Consequentill the Processing mapper of the lie. Lagharling of Citera. Marricheation which he fathers endewly country. Eld buokes to reliefe situans in Kanse - South of Cofor. Be may rue, How How the course in Rome ofter Billat doors. He seenfer Dolebilla. He rounen into Alla. He taken in Riveles, when its stageness confirmateous chief. Aller his grand to Kann he have us to equiliate the france of the Leener The unites decauchery and amorties. It is conflorethe first the tree of security we will re-Santa The Supplied in the State of the Supplied in the Supplie of a facus of shareday a soon door. Than on to the west on Rose and begins of the Tower of the Porces Seculta Courses water was against others with success, our extreme ac-Freing then. Command of the face grown to the Property Mr. Spronne. He referenced on a course on the Bond of Coire. The dies of I to the Altha. Her say and grafule disposihan Ane Provide accountmance prepared than CONTRACTOR LINE CONTRACTOR CONTRACTOR SUN Constitution of the second that had be

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ROMAN HISTORY.

SECT. II.

Marius's jealoufy of Sylla rifes to excess, on the occasion of a present made by Bocchus to the Roman People. Both are ambitious of commanding the war against Mithridates. Marius is supported by P. Sulpicius. That Tribune's character. The Senate having given Sylla the command of the war against Mithridates, Sulpicius endeavours to make the People transfer it to Marius. Sedition upon that occasion. Marius prevails, and has the employment he defired conferred upon bim by the People. Sylla marches with his army against Rome. Perplexity of Marius. Deputations fent by bim to Sylla in the name of the Senate. The latter seizes Rome. Marius flies. Sylla prevents Rome from being plundered. He reforms the government, raises the authority of the Senate. and depresses that of the People. He causes Marius, Sulpicius, and ten other Senators to be declared enemies of the publick. Sulpicius is VOL. X. taken

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> L. CORNELIUS SYLLA. Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS.

A. R. 664. Ant. C. 88.

URING the Confulship of Sylla, the Marius's J enmity between him and Marius was car-jealousy of ried to the highest excesses, and became a war Sylla rises in form. Two years before, fwords were very the occasion near being drawn upon the occasion of a pre- of a present fent made by Bocchus to the Roman People. made by It was statues of Victory carrying trophies, and Bocchus to attended with a group of gold, that represented the Roman People. Jugurtha delivered up to Sylla by Bocchus. Plut. in These statues were placed in the capitol: which Mar. & piqued Marius's jealoufy. He could not fuffer, Sylla. that Sylla should ascribe to himself the glory of Civ.l. 1. having terminated the war with the king of Numidia. He was for having the statues removed from the capitol, which Sylla opposed. The friends of both had already drawn up around their leaders; and were upon the point of coming to blows, when the war of the allies, which broke out at this juncture, forced the two factions to unite, at least for a time, against the common enemy.

This ill-extinguished fire broke out again as Both are foon as the danger was over. A new subject ambitious engrossed the thoughts of the two heads of par-of comty: this was the command of the war against the war Mithridates, of which both were ambitious, as against Mian occasion of acquiring great glory and riches, thridates. without much danger. In Sylla, that desire had nothing extraordinary, and contrary to reafon. He was still in the vigour of life, being then nine and forty; he had lately done great B2 fervices

A. R. 664 fervices, and fignalized himself exceedingly in a difficult, dangerous, and disagreeable war. In a word, he was Conful, and in that capacity actually General of the Roman armies; so that he had a just right to appropriate the first and most

glorious province to himfelf.

Marius had no other titles but his ambition and avidity, passions that never grew old. He could not bear to be confidered in the commonwealth, like those old rufty arms, to use Plutarch's words, that are never intended for farther use. Having none of the talents that could diftinguish a citizen in time of peace, and defiring to fhine at any price whatfoever, he languished after war, and did not consider any of the reasons, that rendered him incapable of it for the future. He was then not much less than feventy years old: he was become exceffively grofs and heavy: it was not long fince he had been forced, by the infirmities of age, to renounce a neighbouring war, of which he could not support the fatigues. And now he ardently defired to cross the seas, and carry the war to the extremities of Asia. To remove the idea himfelf had given of his decay, he went every day to the field of Mars to exercise amongst the youth, and affected to shew, that he had fill both agility to handle arms, and vigour to keep a good feat on horseback. Some applauded him. But (a) the most sensible pitied

τῶν παρόιλαν, ἀλλ' ώσος ἐνδοὰς απάντων, εἰς Καππαδοκίαν τὰ τὸ Ευξεινοι Πόντοι άρας ἐκ Θειάμδων τὸ δόξης ἐκφέρει τοσὰνοῦ γῆρας, τοῖς Μιθριδάτυ σατράπαις Μριμαχέμεν . Plut. in Mar.

the blindness of a man, who from poor being A. R. 664. become rich, and from a mean and obscure birth Ant. C. 88. having raifed himself to the highest greatness, did not know how to fet bounds to his fortune, nor enjoy his reputation and opulence in quiet; but, as if he had wanted every thing, was anxious to transport, from the arms of glory and triumphs, a cold and heavy old age into Cappadocia, and beyond the Euxine fea, to make war with the Satrapæ of Mithridates. He endeavoured to hide this eager defire under a specious pretext, by giving out, that he proposed to instruct his son in person in the art of war. But no body was deceived by that plaufible discourse: the motive that actuated him was known, and every body openly referred him to his country-house and the coast of Baiæ, to drink the hot waters, and cure his defluxions. He really had a most delightful country-house at Misenum near Bajæ, adorned in a luxurious tafte, that ill fuited a foldier roughly educated, and whose whole life had passed in the fatigues and labours of war.

The advice given Marius was good: but he Marius was far from being inclined to follow it. On Supports the contrary, resolving to pursue his point with bimself with P. vigour, he drew P. Sulpicius into his interest, Sulpicius. whose good conduct hitherto, sustained by his That Trisublime talents, had acquired him universal bune's chaesteem; and who, on a sudden, as if (a) he had grown weary of being happy with virtue, precipitated himself into the greatest missortunes.

⁽a) Quafi pigeret eum virtutem suarum, & bene consulta ei malè cederent, subitò

A. R. 662. by making himself the most furious Tribune of Ant. C. 88. the People, that had ever been in that office.

P. Sulpicius was a man, fays Plutarch, that never had an equal for excess of wickedness: so that it was not to be enquired whether he furpassed others in every kind of vice, but in what kind of vices he exceeded himself. In him were united cruelty, impudence, and infatiable avarice, without remorfe, shame, or the least regard to appearances. He publicly fold the freedom of Rome to freedmen and strangers, and kept a bank openly in the Forum for so infamous a traffic. He had under him, or to use the expression in his pay, three thousand men that bore arms; and besides, never appeared in public, but attended by fix hundred young Roman Knights ready to perpetrate any thing, whom he called the Anti-Senate. It is easy to judge what enormous expenses this must have cost him. Accordingly, though he himself had passed a law, that prohibited any Senator to owe more than * two thousand drachmas, he was found at his death to be three ‡ millions in debt. In a word, to paint him at once, we have only to call to mind what kind of man Saturninus had been. Sulpicius made him his

* About 00%. † About 75000 l. flerling.

The Senate Hero, except that he judged him too timid and circumspect. Such was the Tribune that Mahaving rius called in to his aid.

given Sylla the command of the war a air ft Mithridates. Sulpicius to Marius.

The command of the war against Mithridates had been conferred on Sylla by the Senate, with orders to fet out as foon as he should have cleared Campania of some troops of Samnites, continued in possession of Nola, and its neighendeavours bourhood. He had already joined his army, to make the and was successfully employed in pursuing that transfer it remainder of rebels. Marius and Sulpicius believed lieved his absence a favourable occasion for de- A. R. 664. priving him by the People of the employment, Ant. C. 88. which the Senate had given him. But it was necessary to begin by conciliating the favour of the multitude. Accordingly, without shewing immediately what they aimed at, Sulpicius proposed a law, that, if it passed, would render him absolutely master in the Assemblies of the People. The design of it was, to distribute the new citizens into all the Tribes. This law fet the whole city in a flame. The old citizens, with Q. Pompeius at their head, opposed an institution, that deprived them of all power and authority, to the utmost. Sulpicius was not of a character to recede. He had lived till now in great union with Pompeius. But on this occasion that friendship changed into extreme enmity; things were foon carried to the utmost violences; and Sylla was obliged to return to Rome to support his collegue, who found himfelf under the most perplexing difficulties.

The two Confuls having joined, conferred Sedition on together, and conceived that they had found an that occaaffured expedient for eluding the fury of the fion. Tribune without noise or effort. They published a decree, to prohibit all Assemblies of the People and public deliberations, for several days; in a word, to introduce a general ceffation of business, as was the custom on festival days: these are Appian's words. Their view was to gain time, and to proceed calmly in com-

poling the affair.

But Sulpicius did not give them leisure for that; whilst they were * haranguing the multi-

^{*} It was allowed to ba- permitted to proceed to their Suffrages. rangue the People on festivaldays, though they were not

Ant, C. 88.

A. R. 664 tude before the temple of Castor, the Tribune appeared with his guard armed with daggers under their robes, and with orders to spare no body, not even the Confuls. He attacked their decree as unjust, and infifted upon its being immediately revoked. On the opposition of the Confuls a dreadful tumult arose: the followers of Sulpicius drew their daggers: many of the citizens were killed upon the spot, and amongst others the Conful Pempeius's fon, who was at the fame time Sylla's fon-in-law. The Confuls in so great a danger endeavoured to fly: and Q. Pompeius in effect found means to escape. As for Sylla, it is certain that he entered Marius's house. But the friends of the latter fay, that he entered it of himself as an Asylum to take refuge there, and that Marius had the generofity to cause him to be conducted out through a back-door. Sylla related the fact quite differently in his memoirs. He affirmed, that Sulpicius having caufed him to be furrounded by his people, with naked swords in their hands, he had in that manner conducted him to Marius's house: and that after such a deliberation, as could be held in the like circumflances, he had been compelled to return to the Forum, to annul his decree, and thereby leave the Tribune at liberty to make the people deliberate upon the law he proposed. However it were in respect to these different accounts, of which the first feems the most probable, Sylla immediately quitted Rome, and went to put himself at the head of his army, which he had left in Campania.

Marius prevails and bas the employment be defired. conferred on bim.

Sulpicius continuing mafter of the field of battle, caused his law to pass: and immediately unveiling the fecret motive of his whole conduct code

duct, he proposed to the people to give Marius A. R. 664. the command of the war against Mithridates. Ant. C. 88. The thing met with no difficulty; and even the troops actually under Sylla's command were given to him; so that Marius instantly dispatched two legionary Tribunes, to take possession of

the command of that army in his name.

But Sylla was not fo docile as his rival ima- Sylla gined: and refolved to defend his right with marches force. This plan carried him a great way with his The deliberation of the people annulled his ti- gainst tle, which was the decree of the Senate. He Rome. could not retain the command, whilft that deliberation should subsist. His adversaries, who were the authors of it, ruled all things in Rome. Nothing less therefore, was the question, than to march against Rome with his army. The consequences did not terrify him; and indeed the unjust and violent conduct of the opposite faction supplied him with plausible pretexts for affuring himfelf, that he was going not fo much to attack his country, as to deliver it from oppression. But he apprehended that his foldiers would be startled at so new and unheard of a defign, which, at first fight, must naturally inspire them with horror. He therefore, assembled them, and by giving them an account of the violence done him at Rome, and the injuftice now intended to be added by depriving him of a command conferred by the Senate, and to which he had a right as Conful. He afterwards interested themselves in his cause, by infinuating, that, if Marius was charged with this war, they had reason to fear, he should prefer other troops to them, and thereby deprive them of the occasion of inriching themselves with the fpoils of Afia.

This

A. R. 664. This discourse was received with applause. Ant. C. 88. However Sylla was afraid to express the design he had formed in clear terms, and contented himself with recommending to them, to hold themselves in readiness to execute the orders, which it should be necessary to give them in the present situation of affairs. The soldiers perfectly comprehended his meaning, and cried out, that he should lead them directly to Rome, and they would cause justice to be done him. This was what Sylla expected: the thing was refolved and executed that moment; and then, for the first time, a Roman Consul was seen marching against Rome with an army. Marius's Tribunes having presented themselves were stoned to death. However all the General officers, that ferved under Sylla, abandoned him to a man, out of respect for the name of their country, and not being able to refolve to turn its own arms against it. Only his Quæstor continued with him.

> Marius and Sulpicius having received advice of the death of the two Tribunes, used reprifals upon Sylla's friends at Rome. Thus both fides croffed each other; and whilft fome quitted Sylla's camp to return to the city, others fled

from the city to feek refuge in it.

Perplexity Deputations fent by him to Senate.

But these reprisals did not advance Marius's of Marius. affairs, who was in a cruel perplexity. Sylla advanced at the head of fix legions, amounting to thirty thousand foot, and fix thousand horse. Sylla in the He was also supported by his Collegue, who name of the had quitted his retreat to join him, thereby uniting the whole authority of the Consulship. Though Pompeius had brought with him only his name, that was no inconsiderable reinforcement: and Sylla laid fo much stress upon this

concert

concert between them, that he ascribed it in his A. R. 664.

Memoirs to the protection of the gods, and that fingular good-fortune which attended all his undertakings. Marius had the Senate for him, which he actually in a manner kept in captivi-For that body then made little or no refiftance against violence, and almost always submitted to the yoke of the strongest. Accordingly he made the Senate fend deputation upon deputation to Sylla; at first to demand what motive induced him to advance in that manner with an army against Rome; and afterwards to forbid him to do fo. Sylla contented himself with answering such as questioned him, that he was going to deliver his country from the tyrants, that oppressed it. But the Prætors, Brutus and Servilius, who were charged with more fevere orders, having undertaken to speak with haughtiness and a tone of Authority, Sylla's foldiers, who perfectly knew how to fet them at work, and concealed his game under their emotions, fell upon them, broke their fasces, put their Lictors to flight, and stripped themselves of their Robes (Presexta:) fo that the Prætors thought themselves very happy in escaping with their lives; denouncing at Rome, by the fad condition in which they appeared, the fury of the foldiery and the extreme danger of the city.

Marius was therefore under the necessity of having recourse to prayers: and new Deputies were fent from the Senate to implore Sylla to advance no farther with his troops against the city, and to wait till some method of reconciliation should be found; promising him at the fame time that he should have reason to be satisfied. He declared that he was disposed to act as they defired, and even in the presence of the Deputies,

Ant. C. 88.

A. R. 664. Deputies, ordered the proper officers to mark out a camp. But, with a perfidy, not excufable, even in a war with a stranger, the Deputies had no fooner turned their backs, than he continued his march, and arrived before Rome at an instant, when he was least expected.

Rome.

Sylla feizes As he appeared as an enemy he was received as fuch by the inhabitants, and besides the foldiers, whom Marius and Sulpicius had been able to affemble in hafte, the whole multitude getting upon the house-tops, poured such an hail of stones and tiles upon Sylla's troops, as prevented them from advancing, Sylla upon that made no difficulty of crying out to his people to fet fire to the houses, and himself, taking a lighted torch in his hand fet them the example; at the fame time he ordered his archers to discharge their fire-arrows: acting, says Plutarch (a), like a madman, who had loft his fenses, and fuffered himself to be absolutely fwayed by passion, as forgetting his friends, relations, and adherents; he had no thoughts but of his enemies, and employed fire which can make no distinction between the innocent and the guilty.

Marius flies

Marius had not sufficient forces to oppose an army. He made the utmost efforts: he called in to his aid both the citizens that were in the houses, and even the slaves, to whom he promifed liberty. But all was in vain; and only three flaves suffered themselves to be tempted by his promises. He therefore retired to the

(a) Κατ εδίνα λογισμόν, αλλ έμπαθης ων κ τω θυμώ νων ήγεμονίαν, όσης τες έχθρες mosos imea, Cines de my oulye-

veis no cineius sis udiva hoyon Diplo ed cixlor, xatre dex wugos, ω των αίτίων κ μη διάτ γιωσις έκ η. Plut. in Sylla. Capitol: and feeing that he was upon the point A.R. 664. of being forced there, he quitted the city with Sulpicius and fome others, leaving Sylla victorious. This was the first battle in form fought in Rome between the citizens; no longer in the manner of a tumultuous fedition, but to the found of trumpets, and with enfigns flying as

between enemies.

Sylla used moderation with his victory. Sylla pre-When master of the city he saved it from being wents plundered; and having observed some soldiers Rome from who pillaged contrary to his orders, he caused being plunthem to be punished that instant, and upon the spot. He planted guards in all the important posts; and himself and his Collegue passed the whole night, in visiting all the quarters, to prevent the terror of some, and the boldness of others from occasioning any disorder.

He did not content himself with having put Sylla rean End to the troubles excited by Marius: he forms the resolved to prevent such as might revive in the governfequel, and by reforming the government, to fes the aufecure, if possible, the tranquillity of the Com- thority of monwealth. The plan, which he followed in the Senate, this reformation, was to exalt the authority of and reduces that of the the Senate and Nobility, and to diminish the people. power of the People, whose temerity and caprice had long occasioned such great calamities. He therefore affembled the People, and after having deplored the fad necessity, to which the injustice of his enemies had reduced him, he deplored the unhappiness of the Commonwealth given up as a prey to perverse men, who by flattering the multitude for their own interest, frequently feduce them to take measures most repugnant to the publick good. To remedy this inconvenience, which drew fo many others

A. R. 664. after it, he first revived an ancient custom, which had been abolished for some ages, and decreed, that nothing should be proposed to the People, that had not first been deliberated and approved by the Senate. In the fecond place, he made another very important change, which was, that for the future the People, instead of voting by Tribes, should vote by Centuries. The difference was great. The division of the Tribes having been made according to the quarters of the city, or districts of the country inhabited by the citizens, every thing was-confounded in them, the noble with the mean, the rich with the poor: and as the number of the latter is always the greatest, the mean people bore the sway in the Tribes. On the contrary the distribution by Centuries, had the difference of the riches each person possessed for its foundation: and that distribution had been managed in such a manner, that the rich alone formed a majority of Centuries, and confequently had more voices than the whole multitude of the poor.

The changes introduced by Sylla already very much lessened the authority of the Tribunes. He made still further breaches in it, which History has not circumstantiated. But it was during his Dictatorship, that he gave the Tribunitian Power the greatest blow, as we shall say

in its place.

And lastly, he caused to be cancelled and annulled, as contrary to the Laws, all the Decrees Sulpicius had passed since the vacation prescribed by the Consuls, and thereby reinstated himself in full and legal possession of the command of the war against Mithridates.

It now only remained for Sylla to fatiate his A. R. 664. Ant. C. 88. revenge. He affembled the Senate, and pro- He causes posed to declare the two Marii, father and son Marius, Sulpicius, and nine other Senators, their prrinci-Sulpicius, pal adherents, enemies to their country. Every and ten thing trembled before the Conful. However nators to Q. Scævola the Augur, father-in-law of young be declared Marius, ventured to oppose him. He at first enemies of refused to give his opinion. Then, as Sylla Valer. urged it, that venerable old man being forced Max. III. to explain himfelf, did so with all possible cou- 8. rage and constancy: Neither these soldiers, said he, with whom you have surrounded the Senate, nor your menaces frighten me. Do not think that to preserve the feeble remains of a languishing life. and of a blood frozen in my veins, I can declare Marius an enemy to Rome, by whom I remember. that the city of Rome, and all Italy have been preserved. Scævola's example was admired, but Appian. it found no followers. The decree of the Senate was conformable to the Conful's propofal, and it was, "That the two Marii, Sulpicius, " P. Cethegus, Junius Brutus, the two Granii, " Albinovanus, Lætorius, Rubrius, and two " others expresly mentioned, but whose names are not come down to us, for having excited " a fedition, made war upon the Confuls, and " called in the flaves to liberty, were declared enemies of the publick; that in consequence " all persons should be permitted to fall upon, kill, or bring them to the Confuls; and " that their estates should be confiscated." It appears, that there were also rewards promised to fuch as should bring in their head. But it is not faid, that this promife was included in the decree of the Senate.

A. R. 664. Ant. C. 88.

To execute this bloody resolution, Sylla dif-Sulpicius is patched foldiers in pursuit of those he had just taken and caused to be condemned. Sulpicius soon fell into their hands, having been discovered by one of his flaves. The head of that unfortunate Tribune was brought to Rome, and fet up on the Tribunal of harangues; a fad prefage, fays Velleius, of the proscription, that followed soon after. For the rest, Sylla on this occasion did an act of justice. As in the decree he published to notify the refolution of the Senate, he had promifed liberty to fuch flaves, as should discover any of the persons nominated in it, the traitor who had delivered up Sulpicius was declared free: but immediately, with the hat, the fymbol of liberty, and the reward of his crime, he was, by Sylla's order, thrown down the Tarpejan rock.

Flight of Marius Plut. in Mar.

As to Marius, the circumstances of his flight would supply matter for a very entertaining story. On quitting Rome, all who accompanied him, having difperfed, he retired with his fon to a country-house which he had near Lanuvi-His design was, to gain the coast, and to quit Italy. But, as he had no provisions, he fent his fon to an estate of his father-in-law Scævola's, which was in the neighbourhood, in order that he might get there all that was neceffary for the voyage. Whilft young Marius was making his preparations, the night paffed; and it being Light, horsemen were perceived afar off, who suspecting an house so nearly allied to Marius, were advancing thither to fearch it. But Scævola's farmer or steward, as faithful as his mafter was generous, hid the fugitive in a waggon full of beans; and driving it towards Rome, paffed through those, who were feeking Marius, and fuffered him to go on without A. R. 664. the least suspicion of the fact. In this manner young Marius entered the city, and the very house of his wife, where, having provided himfelf with every thing he wanted, he happily quitted Rome: and with regard only to himfelf, got to the fea, embarked, and arrived in Africa.

His father was not fo fortunate. From his first place of retreat, where he could not remain long undiscovered, he went to Ostia; and there finding a veffel, which one of his friends had provided, he went on board with Granius, his fon-in-law. This bark feems to have been a very small one, and perhaps was a kind of packet-boat*, with which Marius coasted along * Plutarch the shore, having at first a fair wind. But the calls it wind foon freshening, the sea became tempes- **rophueiov. tuous; and the mariners finding it difficult to work the veffel, and apprehending it could not refift the florm, refolved to land. Marius forbade it, because they were near Terracina, where he had a powerful enemy, called Geminius. In a word, the bad weather not ceasing, and Marius besides being violently sea-sick, which is common with those not much accustomed to that element, he was obliged to give way to necessity, and was landed with all his company.

They did not know what to do, nor whither to turn themselves. Every thing was against them: the land, where they apprehended being furprized by the enemy; the sea, because it continued flormy. To meet any body, was matter of dread; and not to do fo, was to want an absolutely necessary aid; for their provisions were exhausted, and they began to suffer

VOL. X. from A. R. 664 from hunger. In this diffress, they perceived fome shepherds, to whom they went to ask fome relief. But those poor people had nothing to give them; only knowing Marius, they advised him to fly as soon as possible, because they had feen horsemen a little before in quest of him. He therefore quitted the high road, and went into a thick wood, where he passed the night very indifferently, and the more fo, as those that were with him were tormented with hunger, and in confequence much out of humour. As for him, though weak, and exhausted with want and satigue, he had still spirit enough to encourage others. He exhorted the companions of his flight not to renounce his last remaining hope, for which he reserved himself: that was a seventh Consulship, which he pretended the Fates had certainly decreed him. And on this occasion he related to them a fact, or a fable, better adapted than the best reasons to inspire confidence in superstitious minds.

He told them, that when he was a child, he saw an eagle's nest falling, and catched it in the skirts of his robe; that there were young eagles in it: and that his father and mother having consulted the Augers upon that event, which seemed a prodigy to them, they were answered, that their son should be the most illustrious of mankind, and should possess the supreme authority seven times. However this fast may be of which the naturalists contest

Plin. X. 3. fact may be, of which the naturalists contest the possibility, affirming that eagles never breed more than two young ones at a time, or three at most, we know what to conclude in respect to such pretended omens, the baits of impostors, and amusement of fools. But Marius had great saith in them, and it is certain, that in his

his flight, and greatest extremities, he often A. C. 664. spoke of the seventh Consulship, to which he Ant. C. 88.

was destined by the gods.

Whilst he wandered with his troops of fugitives upon the fea-fide, not being far from Minturnæ, a place fituated at the mouth of the Liris , they perceived a troop of horsemen * Gariglicoming towards them. At the same time cast- ane. ing their eyes towards the fea, they faw two merchant-ships, their only resource in so extreme a danger. Every one made the best of their way towards the sea, threw themselves into it, and endeavoured to gain the two veffels by fwimming. Granius with fome others got to one of those ships, and in it to the lse of Ænaria []. Marius was old and heavy: and [] Ischia. it was not without great difficulty, that two flaves kept him above water to the other veffel, into which he was received. In the mean time the horsemen arrived on the shore, and called out to the mariners, either to land Marius, or throw him over-board, and go on where they pleased. Marius weeping, implored the pity of the masters of the ship, who, after some deliberation, much perplexed and uncertain how to act, at length, moved by the tears of fo illustrious a suppliant, answered the horsemen, that they would not deliver up Marius; upon which they retired in a great rage.

Marius believed himself out of danger. He did not know that he was destined to suffer more cruel difficulties than he had hitherto experienced, and to have a nearer view of death. Accordingly the generosity of those, who had given him an asylum in their ship, was not of long duration: they were seized with fear, not having approached the land, cast anchor at the

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A. R. 664 mouth of the Liris. They then proposed landing to him, in order to make a short repose after fuch long fatigues. Marius, who distrusted nothing, confented to it. He was carried ashore to a place where there was grass. But whilft he continued there at ease, without any thoughts of impending misfortune, he faw the ship weigh anchor on a sudden, and set sail. Those merchants like the generality of mankind, were neither wicked enough to do ill, nor good enough to do well, at the hazard of danger. They had been ashamed to deliver up Marius, but they did

not believe it safe to preserve him.

In what a deplorable state was Marius, when he faw himself upon the shore alone, without aid, without defence, and abandoned by all the world! He however did not abandon himself: he got up; and as the Liris, which in that place overflows the lands, forms marshes, with incredible fatigue he croffed ditches full of water, and muddy grounds, and at length came to a poor wood-cleaver's cottage. He threw himself at his feet, and conjured him to fave a man, who, if he escaped danger, would reward him beyond his hopes. The peafant, whether he knew him, or was struck with the loftiness and majesty of his appearance, which his misfortunes had not effaced, answered, that if he only wanted rest, he might find it in his cottage; but if he fled from enemies, he would shew him a fafer retreat. Marius having accepted the last offer, the man conducted him to a hollow place near a marsh, where he covered him with leaves, reeds, and rushes.

May I be allowed here to defire the reader to confider Marius attentively in the deplorable flate we fee him at this moment? What might

then

then be his thoughts? How much ought he to A. R. 664. have abhorred a fatal ambition, that from the height of greatness and glory, had plunged him into an abyss of misery, below the condition of the meanest of mankind? And what a lesson is this to those, who are never contented with their condition, and who imagine they want all things, when a single object is wanting to their insatia-

ble avidity.

Marius had not leifure to entertain himself long with fuch fad reflexions. For he foon heard a great noise on the side next the cottage. It was made by horsemen sent by Geminius of Terracina, his enemy, who having met the wood-man, questioned, pressed, and menaced him for concealing an enemy of the publick, condemned to die by the Roman Senate. Marius had no resource left. He quitted his retreat, undreffed himfelf, and plunged into the black and muddy water of the marsh. That dirty afylum could not conceal him. His purfuers ran to him, and having drawn him out of the water naked and all covered with mud, they put a cord about his neck, and dragged him immediately to Minturnæ, where they delivered him to the magistrates. For an order was arrived in all the cities of Italy, to feize and kill him, wherever he should be found.

However, the magistrates of Minturnæ refolved previously to deliberate, and left their prifoner in the house of a woman, called Fannia, and who long had reasons to owe him no good will. The thing was as follows. Fannia having been separated from her husband Titinius, demanded the restitution of her portion. Titinius resused to restore it upon account of her bad conduct: and that was matter of sact.

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A.R. 664. The affair was carried to Rome and brought Ant. C. 88. before Marius, then Consul for the fixth time. He examined into the merits of the cause, and found that Titinius knew the character and loose conduct of his wife before he married herwhich he had however done for the fake of her Marius in confequence equally difliking both, fentenced the husband to make restitution of the portion, and laid a small, but disgraceful, fine upon the wife. Fannia however acted with generolity in the occasion Marius had for her aid. She served him with all imaginable zeal, and even endeavoured to confole and encourage him. He answered, that he had great hopes, and those in effect of an omen, fo puerile and ridiculous, that it is not possible to read it without feeling shame and pity for human stupidity. He told her, that as he was bringing to her house, an ass came out of it running, and having stept before him, looked on him in a manner, that expressed gaiety, then brayed in a joyous tone, and afterwards leaping and prancing ran by him to drink at a spring just by. Thus the gaiety of an ass's motions encouraged a person who had been fix times Conful: and he farther inferred, as the animal on quitting him went to feek water, that it was by water the gods intended he should be preserved; and that he should pass the sea to refuge himself from the dangers that threatened his life. Full of confidence in effect of this fine reasoning, he defired to repose, and having laid himfelf upon a bed, he caused the door where he was to be shut.

The deliberations of the Magistrates and Senate of Minturnæ had not been long, and they had resolved to obey. But not a single citi-

zen could be found, who would charge himself A. R. 664. with that odious execution. A stranger, a Gaul or Cimber by birth, was sent to kill Marius, and entered the chamber sword in hand. The bed, on which Marius lay, was placed in a very dark nook. From the midst of that obscurity he cast a fierce look on the Barbarian, his eyes seeming to slash with fire, and at the same time cried out to him with a terrible voice: Wretch, dare you kill C. Marius? This was like a stroke of thunder to the soldier, who immediately sled, throwing down his sword, and crying out, I cannot kill Marius.

This example not only aftonished, but moved the people of Minturnæ with compassion. They reproached themselves with having been more barbarous than that Barbarian, and with having been guilty of cruelty and ingratitude against the preserver of Italy, whom it was even shameful not to defend. Let bim escape. faid they, let bim escape, and fulfill elsewhere bis unbappy destiny. Alas! we have but too much reason to pray the gods to forgive us the involuntary fault we commit, in sending Marius away from our city without defence and affiftance. They entered the house where he was in throngs, and furrounded and conducted him to the fea. Every one was eager to express his zeal, by carrying to the veffel appointed for him the neceffary provisions. But one obstacle retarded their march, and made them lose time. the way between the city and the fea was a wood confecrated to the nymph Marica, in respect to which they observed this superstitious custom, never to carry any thing out of it that had once been carried in. In confequence it was necessary to take a great compass, which

A. R. 664 their impatience supported with difficulty. At Ant. C. 88. length an old man having cried out, that every way was good, and allowed by the gods for faving Marius, he ventured first to cross the wood, and was followed by all the rest. Every thing was foon ready, and Marius embarked in a very small vessel, in the midst of the vows of the Minternenses, who lifted up their hands to heaven, and implored the gods to take that great man under their protection. Afterwards, when he returned to Italy, he caused this whole adventure to be painted, and placed the picture in the temple of Marica.

From Minturnæ Marius went to the Isle of Ænaria, where he rejoined Granius. From thence they both took the route of Africa: but as they were in want of water, they were obliged to an-*Now cal- chor in Sicily on the the fide of * Mount Eryx.

led Monte Ill-fortune purfued our fugitive every where. di San The Quæstor of the province, happening to be Guiliano, or di Tra- in those parts, fell upon Marius's people, who landed to take in water, killed eighteen of them,

and was very near taking Marius himself. This obliged Marius to reimbark as foon as possible,

Now cal- and to fteer for the Isle of & Meninx, where for led Isle des the first time he received news of his son. He

heard, that having escaped with Cethegus, one of the twelve included in the decree of the Senate, he had retired to the court of Hiempfal, who reigned over part of Numidia: that Prince was probably one of Masinissa's posterity, and was indebted for the states he possessed to Marius, who had established either himself or his father in them, after the defeat and taking

of Jugurtha. This gave young Marius reason to hope, that he should find an affured asylum near the person of that Numidian: and old

Marius

pani.

Gerles, or di Zerbi.

Marius also a little encouraged by the same A. R. 664. thought, ventured to remove from the Island of Ant. R. S.

Meninx into the province of Carthage.

The Roman magistrate, who commanded in that province, never had any particular concernwith Marius, nor received either good or bad from him. And as the man was in a state of indifference with respect to him, it seemed that humanity alone and natural compassion ought to move him in regard to the fate of fo great and so illustrious a person. But it is but too common to despise the unfortunate. Marius had fcarce landed, when one of the Prætor's officers came to him, and faid in a menacing tone, The Prator Sextilius forbids you to set foot in his province. If you do not comply with his orders, be declares to you, that be is resolved to execute the decree of the Senate, and to treat you as an enemy of the publick. Marius was seized in fuch a manner with furprize, indignation and grief, that he continued very long without faying any thing, with his eyes fixed on the perfon, who brought him this meffage. On the officer's preffing him, and asking what answer he should carry back to the Prætor; Go, faid he, tell bim who fent you, that you have feen Marius a fugitive, and sitting upon the ruins of Carthage. That answer was an excellent lesson upon the instability of human things; uniting under the same point of view the destruction of one of the most powerful cities of the world, and the ruined fortune of the first of the Ro-Marius made no haste to execute the Prætor's order: and he was still about Carthage, when his fon joined him, who had been obliged to fly from Hiempfal's dominions.

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Ant. C. 88.

For that Prince, more fensible to the fear of a present evil, than to gratitude for a past benefit, was perplexed about his suppliant. He rendered him honours, but kept him against his will, and prevented him from quitting his kingdom. That conduct gave the Roman great disquier; who plainly saw, that the King's pretexts for detaining him, had nothing fincere in them, and betokened no good to him. To extricate himself, he took advantage of an occasion that offered, without his having conceived any thoughts of cultivating it. He was young, and well made. The danger that threatened him, moved one of the King's mistresses with compassion: and soon, as the transition is very easy, The proceeded from pity to love. Marius at first rejected her with disdain. But, when on the one fide he perceived that he had no hopes of flight but by her means, and on the other, that the fentiments of that woman had fomething much above a foolish and blind passion, he repoted a confidence in her, and found the good effects of it. For by her affiftance, himfelf and his friends escaped out of the hands of a Prince, to whom a commodious treachery would perhaps not have cost much.

He rejoined his father, as I have faid, near Carthage; and it was no doubt a great joy both to the father and son, to meet after a separation attended with so many dangers. As they were walking along the coast, Marius saw two scorpions fighting. He valued himself upon his skill in the pretended art of divination. He judged this a bad omen, and concluded from it that they were threatened with some danger: as if common sense alone, without the interposition of the scorpions, did not suffice to inform

him

him, that they had cause to fear both from the A.R. 664. timorous policy of Sextilius, and the refentment of Hiempfal. In confequence they threw themselves into a fishing-boat, which carried them to the isle of * Cercina. And they set * Cercare. out in time. For they had scarce got on board, when they faw fome Numidian horse appear, fent in pursuit of young Marius by Hiempfal. This was not the least danger they sustained: but it was the last. They passed the remainder of the winter quietly enough in the islands of the African fea, waiting some favourable event, that might enable them to return to Italy.

at Rome with abundance of moderation. He deration perceived, that his conduct in respect to Marius He Suffers had displeased many of the Senators, and all Cinna to be elected the People in general. Instead of being en- Conful. raged at it, he chose to take pains for conci- Appian. liating favour, by a popular and very mild Plut. in conduct. On holding the Assemblies for the Syll. election of the Magistrates for the ensuing year, he suffered both his nephew Nonius and Ser. Sulpicius, whom he supported with his recommendation, to undergo a repulse. He even

faid on that occasion, that he was glad to see the people use the liberty he had restored to them. Through the same spirit of moderation, he did not prevent L. Cornelius Cinna from being

elected Conful, who was of the opposite faction to his, though a patrician, and his own relation. He only took the precaution to carry him to the Capitol, and there to make him take an oath, that he would act nothing contrary to his interests. Cinna took the oath pre-

scribed him in the presence of many witnesses; and holding a stone in his hand, he implored

Jupiter, the blood of their Conful.

Sylla in the mean time regulated every thing Sylla's mo-

Shived

A. R. 664. Jupiter, if he failed in his engagements, to drive him out of the city, as he threw that stone out of his hand. It is surprising that Sylla could repose any confidence in the oaths of an ambitious man. He however did not fo entirely trust in them, as not to use the farther precaution of giving him Cn. Octavius for collegue, a man of worth, and a lover of peace and good order, but too mild to oppose one of his violent character. Sylla had foon reason to repent these measures: and if any thing can palliate the horror of the cruelties he afterwards committed, it is the bad fuccess of the lenity with which he acted on the present occasion.

Marius's party re-Jume courage. Pompeius

Accordingly as foon as his troops had quitted Rome to wait for him in Campania, and whilft he was still Conful, the partisans of Marius The Conful began to stir for the recall of the exiles: and the first step they took to effect it, was, to lay is killed by fnares for the lives of the Confuls. Sylla had bis foldiers. least to fear, having an army that might be employed for his defence, even after the expiration of his Confulship. Pompeius conceived he had obtained a like fecurity, by caufing the command of the troops at Picenum to be given him, at the head of which then was Cn. Pompeius Strabo, in quality of Proconful finally to reinstate the tranquillity of the country. But the Conful thereby only hastened his death.

Strabo at first feigned to receive him with refpect, when he came to take upon him the command of the army, and retired, as being only a private person. But the next day a sedition, excited by the ambitious Proconful, delivered him from his competitor: and for the first time (the times we are now come to abound with crimes unheard of before) a roman army imbrews its hands in the blood of their Conful.

having

having afterwards shewn himself to the soldiers, A. R. 664affected abundance of anger: but he was foon appealed: his fudden reconciliation with the murtherers discovered him; and all Historians ascribe the Consul's violent death to him, who was besides his near relation. The Senate, which in fuch perilous times as these, had less power than the foldiers, was obliged to let this crime pass with impunity. Sylla less intent upon avenging his Collegue's death, than providing for his own fecurity, affembled his friends, and prevailed upon them to keep guard round his house and person, as long as he fhould be obliged to continue in the city: and as foon as it was possible he quitted it, and went into Campania to put himself at the head of his army.

CN. OCTAVIUS.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA.

Ant. C. 870

bestrad

Cinna was hardly in office when he shewed Cinna to how much Sylla had been in the wrong to place force Sylla any confidence in him, and to believe him ca- to quit pable of having any regard to his oath. He Italy, causes had nothing fo much at heart as to press him bim to be to fet out; alledging for his reason the necessity a Tribune of putting a stop to the progress of Mithridates; of the Peobut in reality to rid himself of such an inspector ple: in order to be at full liberty for the execution Valef. of his own schemes. Sylla for the same reason Plut. in was in no hafte. The Conful, to put an end Syll. to his delays, contrived to have him accused by the Tribune M. Virgilius. Those who were employed in the fervice of the Commonwealth. were exempted by a law from this kind of profecutions. Sylla accordingly leaving both the Conful

A. R. 665. Conful and Tribune to themselves, put to sea, and arrived in Greece. I shall give an account of his exploits against Mithridates in the sequel.

He labours the recall of Marius.

Cinna no fooner faw himself disengaged from the sole obstacle that checked him, than he began to labour the recall of Marius. His turbulent and restless spirit could not endure repose and tranquillity. Besides which, a frantick ambition made him desirous of rendering himself master of the Commonwealth. And lastly, with these motives, united three hundred talents, which were given him by the partisans of Marius. It is from Appian we have this last fact, who a little before had observed, that very rich persons, of both Sexes, interested themselves for that illustrious sugitive.

* Three hundred thousand crowns.

To gain bis
point be
undertakes
to mingle
the new
citizens
with the
ancient
Tribes.
Appian.

Cinna then took his cause in hand, and feemed at the same time to assume his spirit. For he took care to difguife his aim, and to proceed to his end by indirect means. He did not manifest at first his design to reinstate the exiles; but he undertook to revive the law paffed by the Tribune Sulpicius, for introducing the new citizens into the old Tribes, in all its force. Upon this fignal an infinite multitude of those new citizens flew to the city; and Rome again became the scene of a furious divifion; the old citizens opposing with no less vigour than they faw themselves attacked. Each of the parties had a Conful at its head; and both took up arms. Cinna as he was the most audacious, employed them first.

Sedition on that head.

The majority of the Tribunes of the People opposed the law. There was no going farther without recourse to violence. Accordingly that moment swords were seen glittering, and a mul-

titude

titude of the feditious with Cinna, at the head A. R. 6657 of them, fell upon the opposing magistrates to drive them from the Tribunal. Octavius then, round whom the old citizens, and all that were for the publick tranquility, had ranged themselves in arms, entered the forum, attacked the factious, divided them into two bodies, and dispersed them: then, out of respect for the confular dignity in Cinna, and not inclining to come to blows with his Collegue, he turned towards the temple of Caftor. But those who accompanied him, did not imitate his timorous circumspection. They pushed their advantage, killed a great number of the adversaries, and Cinna is drove the others fighting to the gates of the driven out city. Cinna, who was superior in number, ama- of the city. zed to fee himself overcome, had recourse to the last refuge of the desperate. He called in the flaves to his aid upon the promise of liberty. But that was ineffectual; nobody joined him, and he was obliged to abandon the city, and Cic. in retire into Campania. The battle had been Catil. III. very bloody. Cicero affirms, that the forum Sect. 77. Iwam with the blood of the citizens, and was quite filled with heaps of dead bodies: and Plutarch makes the number of those only, who Plut. in perished on Cinna's side, amount to ten thou- Sertor. fand.

He carried away some Senators with him, Sertorius of whom Sertorius was undoubtedly the most with him illustrious. Unhappy circumstances for that great man had thrown him into this party. His birth itself seemed to incline him to it: and as a new man, in a division between the Nobility and the People, it was natural for him to attach himself to the Plebeian faction. Befides which, we have observed that he had fer-

He bad

Ant. C. 87.

A. R. 665 ved under Marius in the war with the Cimbri, and had received from him many proofs of his esteem; and that was a farther engagement. But what finally determined him, was, that having stood for the Tribuneship, Sylla had caused him to be excluded. Freinshemius conjectures with great appearance of reason, that besides the ties between Sertorius and Marius, Sylla, who was for depreffing the Tribunitian power, conceived it contrary to his views to fuffer that office to be conferred on a man of bravery, and one who in his youth had acquired great reputation for the talent of speaking. It was this combination of circumstances that drew Sertorius into the unfortunate party, and in consequence made his whole life a series of disgraces. His misfortunes did not in the least diminish his glory. But had it not been for that unfortunate engagement, he had talents, greatness of mind, and military abilities capable of making him the first person of the Commonwealth; whereas he was obliged, during his whole life, to employ fo many virtues against his country, and at last to perish miserably by the treachery of his friends. A great lesson, that ought to make persons very cautious in their first steps, which are often taken inconfiderately enough in youth, and afterwards give the bias to the whole feries of life.

Cinna is deprived of the Confulship, and Merula chosen in bis flead.

DOV:

The Senate proceeded juridically against Cinna, and declared the office of Conful, which he occupied, void as well by defertion, as for the crime of having called in the flaves to liberty; an (a) affront Cinna well deserved; but a

precedent

⁽a) Hac injuria homine quam exemplo dignior fuit. Vell. II. 20.

precedent, that might have very pernicious ef- A. R. 665 fects. They substituted to him L. Cornelius Merula, who was the Priest of Jupiter, Flamen Dialis.

diay

Cinna driven in this manner to extremities, Cinna

had no refource but in the foldiery. As the gains the peace of Italy was not entirely re-established, army in Campania. and the Samnites continued still in arms, the Romans had also different armies on several fides, and one actually in Campania under the command of Ap. Claudius. Cinna having gained the principal officers of that army, entered the camp; and the foldiers having affembled around him, he dismissed his Lictors, as being only now a private person. At the same time shedding tears in abundance, he addressed himself thus to the multitude: Dear fellow citizens, 1 received from you the first dignity of the commonwealth, and the Senate have deprived me of it without your consent. It is not bowever my private disgraces, that affect me most. I lament your violated rights, your annibilated power. For who from benceforth will give themselves the trouble to sollicite the suffrages of the Tribes? Who will take pains to conciliate your favour? And bow can you be considered as arbiters of elections, as dispencers of employments and dignities if you cannot secure the enjoyment of your gifts to those you have invested with them, and if your creatures are liable to be deprived without your participation of what you alone have conferred. He added many other things to the same effeet, concluding his discourse with descending from the Tribunal, tearing his robes, and throwing himself at the feet of the soldiers. All of them, moved with fuch a fight, raifed him up, made him re-afcend the Tribunal, defired

A.R. 665 him to recall his Lictors, and protested, that Ant, C 87. they would perfift in acknowledging him for Conful. At the same time the Officers, whom he had gained, advanced, and first took the oath to him as to their General, and then made the troops under their respective commands do the fame:

bis cause.

Heintereffs This fufficed for putting Cinna into a conthe People dition to fear nothing. But he was besides for of Italy in making himfelf formidable to his adversaries, and for refuming the authority of the government over them, of which they had taken posfession. Accordingly to augment his party, he made a tour to all the cities of Italy, reprefenting to the new citizens, that it was their quarrel he had fustained, and that he had been the victim of his zeal for their interests. He was without doubt heard favourably: he found both men and money in abundance: and he

Vell. II. had at his command three hundred cohorts or 20. thirty legions, formed out of the different states of Italy: a formidable power, which it is not to be believed that he affembled in one body of an army, but which may give us an idea of the greatness of his strength, and what reasons those had to tremble, who had driven him out of Rome.

Perplexity of the Conful s.

Octavius and Merula in effect thought proper to fortify the city, and to put it into a state of defence. At the same time, as they had few troops about them, they wrote on all sides to call in the armies, that still acknowledged the authority of the Senate to the affistance of their country. But the generals of two of the strongest bodies of troops, from which they could hope affiftance, both failed chem from different reasons. Metellus Pius, 3prds

who

who was full of good will, was too far off, A. R. 665. and fufficiently employed by the Samnites.

Pompeius Strabo; who might have been at Liv. Epiff; hand to aid the Confuls effectually, observed a Vell. II. dubious conduct, and gave Cinna time to 21. strengthen himself; with the view of making himself necessary, and discontented from not having obtained a second Consulship as he desired.

Marius in the mean time, who till then had Marius continued in Africa, took the advantage of a returns to conjuncture so much in his favour. He re- Italy, and passed the sea, and landed at a port in Tuscany is received with about a thousand men, partly Moorish Appian. horse, and partly Italian adventurers, whom his Plut, in name and misfortunes like his own, had in-Mar & duced to follow him. He wore in his afpect Syll. & and his whole person an air of dejection, that Sertor. fuited his condition. And the compassion that the fight of him inspired, joined with his great reputation, foon enabled him to affemble fix thousand men; and the more easily, as he refused none that offered themselves, even to the flaves to whom he gave liberty. He then fent to offer Cinna his fervice; and the latter. who had affected to have no intelligence with him, though in reality they were agreed in every thing, affembled the Council of war to deliberate upon Marius's propofal.

No body hesitated upon accepting his offers. Only Sertorius was of a contrary opinion, whether he apprehended being eclipsed by the glory of so great a warrior, or all benevolent as he was, he dreaded the terrible excesses, to which revenge might carry a man naturally cruel, and exasperated by missortunes. He represented, that as their enterprize was so far

D 2 advanced

Ant. C. 87.

A. R. 665 advanced, as in a manner to affure them of overcoming, they had no occasion for Marius, and that however, if he joined them, he would engross the whole glory of the Success to himfelf. That befides, his jealous and umbragious character was known, which, it was more than possible, would make those repent their favour, who should share authority with him. The opposition of Sertorius compelled Cinna to discover himself. He owned, that the reafons alledged were of weight: but he added, that he was ashamed to refuse Marius, after having called him in himself. Why did not you fay fo at first? Refumed Sertorius. If you invited bim; the affair is at an end; we have no occasion to deliberate. Marius was accordingly received: and Cinna declared him Proconful, and was for giving him the Fasces and Lictors. But he refused them; faying, that fuch honours did not become the fortune of an exile. in order to render himself an object of pity, he affumed an afflicted aspect, and dejected manners, through which however it was easy to differn an height of courage irritated, but not depressed, by the calamities he had suffered.

Marius march against Rome.

Cinna and It was resolved in the Council to attack Rome. Sylla had fet the example: and Marius did not pique himself upon being more delicate than his enemy in the point of love for his country. Cinna and he affured themselves of succeeding without difficulty. Besides their great strength. the cold and flow circumfpection of Octavius gave them a great superiority. It is the fate of worthy persons to be almost always attacked with advantage; because probley denies them many refourfes, which their adversaries make ad Panced

make no scruple to employ. Octavius wanted neither fortitude, nor ability. But he rigidly adhered to the observation of the Laws; and when some body advised him to arm the slaves, and engage them by the hope of liberty in the desence of the city, he replied, "That he would not violate the Laws by giving slaves the (a) Rights of Roman citizens, whilst out of respect for them, he deprived Marius of those Rights."

The contrary party had a quite different way of thinking. They spared no means for strengthning themselves: and Cinna besieged Rome with four armies, which were posted, one with Marius at its head below the city on the fide next the fea, another, commanded by Sertorius, above; Cinna himfelf, and Carbo, who will foon have a great part hereafter in all thefe troubles, took up their quarters between those of Marius and Sertorius. Their first design was to reduce the city by famine; which it was easy to effect, as they were masters of the river. Their parties scoured the country. They had light ships, which cruized upon the coasts: and in that manner they prevented any provisions from being brought into the besieged. Marius by intelligence even furprifed Oftia at the mouth of the Tiber, and gave up that unfortunate place, to be plundered at the discretion of the troops.

I now proceed to the flow movements of Strabo Pompeius Strabo in favour of the Confuls and length to Senate. By a treacherous connivance, as I have the aid of faid before, he had given Cinna time to acquire Rome.

Pompeius

s of Strabe

and comes at
length to
have the aid of
quire Rome.
Battle, in
which one
tizens brother
kills anfor-other.

⁽a) Slaves made free by the Romans became Roman citizens brother

A. R. 665. formidable forces, and did not come to the aid Ant. C. 87. of his country till it was reduced to extremities. And if we may believe Orofius, before he declared on the fide of the Senate, he had offered himself to Cinna and Marius, and had been rejected. He fought a battle at the gates of Rome, which was not decifive, and of which Tac. Hift. all that we know worthy of notice is, that two brothers, who happened to ferve in the opposite

III. 51. Liv. Epist. Orof. V. 19.

armies, meeting, during the heat of the battle, engaged without knowing each other. He who was on Pompey's fide having killed the other, knew him when he was taking his spoils. His grief rose to despair, and after the action, having erected a funeral pile, upon which he placed the dead body, he got upon it himself, fell upon the same sword with which he had killed his brother, and having ordered the fire to be lighted, in that manner mingled his ashes with those of the deceased. Horrid event! which made both armies groan, whilst they were committing crimes of almost as deep a dye.

The Samnites join Cinnna's party.

The Confuls would not have thought themfelves fufficiently ftrong with the reinforcement of Pompey's troops, though they could even have relied upon the zeal and fidelity of their Leader. They therefore fought to procure other aid. Metellus Pius, who was entirely devoted to the Senate, as I have faid already, was actualy making war against the Samnites. They fent him orders to treat with that People, and to offer them the freedom of Rome. They were an hopes of acquiring thereby a double reinforcement, the army of Metellus, which as foon as difengaged, would not fail of coming to the aid of Rome; and even that of the Samnites, who from enemies, would become citizens.

tizens. But the latter full of hatred for the Ro- A. R. 665. man name, and haughty in effect of being fol-Ant. C. 87. licited, demanded fuch advantageous conditions for themselves, and so hard and dishonourable for the Romans, that Metellus would not ac-Marius and Cinna, who were apcept them. prized of that negotiation, gave the Samnites Carte blanche, and thereby brought them over to their party. Metellus did not fail to advance towards Rome, and to join the army of Octa-

In the mean time the city was upon the point of being taken by treason. One Ap. Claudius, a legionary Tribune, who had formerly received fome fervice from Marius, delivered up the fort of Janiculum to him, of which he had the guard. Cinna and Marius were in possession of that post, which commanded the city, and was joined to it by a bridge, when Octavius and Pompeius flew thither, and repulsed the

enemy.

Vius.

This was the last service Rome derived from the army of Pompeius. Soon after a contagion spread in it, that destroyed great part of it. The unexpected death of that General, who Death of was killed with thunder in a dreadful storm, Pompeius entirely dispersed that army. Nothing is faid Strabo. of it after that event: and it is probable, that the lick's hafoldiers either dispersed, or even took party tred of him amongst Cinna's troops. I must not omit here the manner, in which the publick expressed their hatred for Pompeius Strabo after his death. Plut. in He had drawn it upon himself by his unsatiable Pomp. Jul. avarice, unbounded ambition, and especially Obseq. the criminal indifference, which he had expressed in respect to the dangers, that threatened Rome. Accordingly at the celebration of his funeral.

A. R. 665. funeral, the populace fell upon the bed of state, in which he was carrying to the pile, tore him out of it, and threw his body upon the ground; and after having done it a thousand outrages, they dragged it about the streets with an hook. Pompey the Great, who was beloved by the Roman People, even to adoration, was the fon of fo detefted a father.

Appian. Plut, in Mar.

Marius spared no pains to deprive the belieged of all hopes of receiving provision and refreshments: with this view he took all the places in the neighbourhood of Rome, where there were magazines, Antium, Aricia, Lanuvium, and fome others. After which, having rejoined Cinna, Sertorius and Carbo, he moved with them to offer the Conful battle. Cn. Octavius fers Offa- had quitted Rome, and kept the field with conwins battle siderable forces; namely his own troops, those swho dares of Metellus Pius, and a third army commanded by P. Craffus, the father of him, whom his riches and power after rendered fo famous. It might have been thought, that the Conful, in the state things were, would undoubtedly have accepted the defiance of the enemy. battle gained could fave Rome. But at the fame time a battle loft would give it up as a prey to violence, plunder, and all the horrors of war. This last consideration, conformable to the mild and somewhat timorous disposition of Octavius. checked him. He did not dare to expose his country to fo great a danger, and loft all, by his averseness to hazard any thing. Desertions became frequent; and fcarcity increasing in Rome, began to excite the complaints and murmurs of the multitude; fo that the Senate discouraged, and apprehending that the city would either be taken by force, or delivered up

it.

TENDERIT

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by treachery, sent deputies to Cinna to treat of A. R. 665.

an accommodation.

Cinna stopt them short by asking, whether Deputies those who sent them, acknowledged him Con- fent by the ful. What is surprising enough, they had no Senate to instructions upon that head, and returned with. Cinna. out fo much as opening the negociation. This weak step taken by the Senate had therefore no other effect, than to augment the consternation of those in its interest, and to raise the courage of the partizans of Marius, who were very numerous in the city. Octavius's army diminished every day by defertions; and his credit declined still more. He could neither rely upon most of those, who remained in his camp, nor the foldiers place any confidence in an irrefolute General, very tenacious of forms, and always apprehensive of doing too much. As to Metellus, he had abandoned the party, and feeing the fuperiority Marius had attained, he first retired into Liguria, from whence he foon after went to Africa. The Senate had no other resource left, than to transact with the adverfaries upon the gentlest conditions it was posfible to obtain. But it was necessary to restore the Consulhip to Cinna; and that indifpenfible preliminary was the highest injustice to Merula, a man of worth, venerable for the eminence of the Priesthood he possessed, and one who undoubtedly was far from deferving the affront of being deposed. In the tracket based ord

That Conful spared them the perplexity they Merula abwere under, with respect to him, by sacrificing dicates the himself with a generosity worthy of the greatest Consulfip. praises. I shall be far, said he, from Suffering Vales. my person and interests to be an obstacle to peace. I received the Consular Fasces by your authority,

A. R. 665. and to labour for the safety of my country. Ant. C. 87. the good of my country now requires, that I should lay them down, it is with joy I give my fellowcitizens that testimony of my love for them, and of my zeal for extricating them out of danger. He afterwards ascended the Tribunal of harangues, and folemnly abdicated his office before the People. Upon that, new deputies were fent to Cinna, with orders to acknowledge him

putation to Cinna. Appian. Plut. in Mar.

a its intentify and to raise the clulnoo New De- Their instructions were very short. They were charged to demand nothing of Cinna, but an oath to spare the lives of the citizens. would not condescend to take that oath, and infifted upon their being contented with giving his word, that he would not voluntarily cause the death of any one. We shall see in what manner he kept that promise: but he would not have observed his oath more strictly: He added advice to Octavius, who had re-entered the city: Let bim not venture to appear in publick, said he to the Deputies, least against my will some misfortune should befall him. He gave this audience fitting on his Tribunal, with his Lictors before him, and furrounded with all the train of the Consular dignity. Marius was standing near the Conful's curule chair, affecting, as he had always done fince his return, an air of dejection, of which it was easy to discern the hypocrify, and which fuffered marks of profound refentment and fanguinary revenge to escape.

Council eld by Marius

and Cinna, Accordingly Marius and Cinna feeing themin which the deaths felves victors, held a great Council with the of the op-principal Chiefs of their party, to deliberate posite party upon the manner, in which they should use is resolved. their victory. We cannot doubt, but Sertorius

fpoke

spoke in favour of lenity. We shall soon see a A R. 665. proof of that. But he was not master here; Ant. C. 87. and it was concluded, that, without regard to Diod. lib. the promises made the Deputies of the Senate xxxviii. they should put all their enemies to the sword; in order that their faction, remaining in the fole possession of the government, might dispose in all things with absolute authority. To ravage the city with horrid flaughter, was what they called restablishing its peace. Thus Marius, who had imitated Sylla in attacking Rome, and forcing it in arms, was far from imitating his humanity and moderation in refpect to the citizens: as it is usual for second examples to rife upon the first in criminal excels. I a may sort the . out on fully she bonnin

In the mean time the Senate, who were igno- Marius rant of this cruel deliberation, did not delay and Cinna fending new Deputies to invite Cinna and Ma- enter the rius to enter the city. For the name of Marius is abandonwas expressly added, because it was very well ed to all known, that he was the foul of all these move- the horrors ments, and that Cinna, properly speaking, of war. only lent him his name. Cinna accordingly Mar. Apmade his entry, preceded by his Lictors, and pian. furrounded by his guards. But Marius stopt at the gate, faying with an ironical infolence, that exiles had no right to enter the city; and that it was necessary, a new law should abrogate that, by which he had been banished. The Tribes therefore were affembled immediately: but three or four had scarce given their suffrages when Marius, tired with that comedy, entered on a fudden, and gave up Rome to all the horrors of war. All the gates of the city were shut, that nobody might escape: and under pretence of feeking for Marius's enemies, the foldiers

A. R. 665: foldiers dispersed themselves into all quarters. Ant. C. 87. In particular, a troop of flaves enfranchifed by Marius, and whom he had in a manner made his guard, having received entire permission from him, committed the most horrible excesses. A very great number of citizens were flain, women ravished, and houses plundered. To be rich, was to be an enemy of Marius. In a word, Rome was treated like a city taken by ftorm. now railed restablishing its peace;

Death of the Conful Odavius.

The Conful Octavius was not a witness of these calamities. For he was killed even before the victors entered the city. He had retired to the fort Janiculum with a fmall number of friends and some troops, who still continued faithful to him. All that were with him exhorted him to fly. But he declared, that being Conful, he would never abandon Rome. I do not know, whether he relied upon the oaths of Marius and Cinna, who had caused him to be affured, that no hurt should be done to him. But it is certain, that he placed great confidence in the predictions of aftrologers, who had always promised him good success. For that magistrate, the most moderate and equitable of the Romans, befides being a man firm to the maxims of his ancestors, and who always suftained with haughtiness the rights of the confular dignity, without degrading it by unworthy Compliances that very man had a ridiculous weakness for Astrology and divination; and what much contributed to his ruin, was passing more of his time with impostors and Soothfayers, than with the best heads of the Senate and army. The day law to zror

Marius and Cinna had only given him good words to prevent him from thinking of flight;

and they dispatched an officer, named Censo-A. R. 665. rinus, with a body of horse to kill him on the Janiculum. Cenforinus found him fitting in his curule chair with the enfigns of the Confulship, and his Lictors before him, as if it had been a time of perfect peace. As foon as his friends perceived the horse, they pressed him again to fly. But he did not vouchfafe fo much as to rife, and in that manner received death with a constancy, of which the glory is however diminished by an answer of an Astrologer found about him after his death. His head was carried to Cinna, and afterwards fet up upon the Tribunal of harangues, no doubt to revenge the like treatment, that had been done by Sylla to the Tribune Sulpicius. The victors continued to make the same kind of Trophies of all the other cruelties they committed, and not a Senator was murdered by their order, but his head was fet up on the same Tribunal; infomuch that a place of fuch respect became a kind of place of execution, and even fomething more horrid, as the bleeding heads exhibited there. were not those of vile wretches executed for their crimes, but of all that were most illustrious at Rome by their dignities, talents and virtues.

Of this number were the two brothers L. and C. Cæfar, the first of whom had been Con- Death of ful and Cenfor, and the fecond was the person the two who had disputed the Consulship with Sylla. brothers, There was even fomething unufually attrocious C. Cafar, in the death of Lucius: Marius (a) out of a and of the

vitia trucidando: & quidem ret. Val. Max. IX. 2. apud feditiofissimi & ab-

(a) Marius iram suam ne- jectissimi hominis bustum, ther and farie distrinxit. L. Cæsaris Id enim malorum miserrimæ son.
Consularis & Censorii nobi- tunc reipublicæ deerat, ut lissimum corpus ignobili fæ- Vario Cæfar piaculum cedeAnt. C. 87.

A. R. 665. mean barbarity caused him to be tormented in the most cruel manner before the Tomb of the wretched Tribune Q. Varius, who had occasioned so many evils to the State. Nothing was wanting, fays Valerius Maximus, to the misfortunes and shame of the Commonwealth but to facrifice Cæfar to the manes of Varius: C. Cæsar was discovered, and delivered up by the person, in whose house he had sought an afylum, and for whose defence he had formerly employed his eloquence with fuccess in a criminal affair. Such was the gratitude of that villain to his benefactor. Many other illustrious persons also perished miserably. I shall only mention the most considerable, and those of whose deaths we have some particulars.

Plut. in Crasso.

Liv. Epit. P. Craffus, after feeing his eldeft fon killed before his face, thrust himself through with his fword, to avoid being exposed to infults unworthy of his courage and virtue. His fecond fon escaped, and afterwards became the richest, and one of the most powerful of the Ros mans.

Death of nius the Orator. Plut. in pian.

The Orator M. Antonius had found a faith-M. Anto-ful friend, but one who ruined him by too much zeal and good-will. This was a poor Plebeian, who feeing a guest of that import-Mar. Ap- ance in his house, was for entertaining him well. He fent his flave to the tavern with orders to buy the best wine. The feller, who faw the flave tafte the wine with more care than usual, desiring to set a very high price upon it, asked him why his master was not contented with the wine he commonly drank. The flave, who thought he was speaking to a friend, discovered the fatal secret; and the perfidious vintner ran immediately to Marius, who

was then at table, to declare to him, that he A: R. 665. had it in his power to put M. Antonius into his Ant. C. 87. hands. The transports of joy, with which Marius received that news, gives horror. He cried out, clapped his hands, and was for going himself to the place, if he had not been stopt by his friends. He therefore determined to fend the military Tribune Annius with foldiers, ordering him to bring him the head of M. Antonius that instant. Annius went, and staying below to guard the door, made his foldiers go up stairs. But the fight of Antonius softened their cruel hearts; and the eloquent orator, in so pressing a necessity having employed those refined infinuations, and the pathetic, which he knew well how to adapt, so effectually moved them that not a fingle man could resolve to lay hands upon him. The Tribune at length who was grown impatient with waiting, went up himself, and saw his soldiers suspended, and in a manner inchanted, holding down their heads and shedding tears, whilst Antonius harangued them. As for himself, who was no less barbarous than him that fent him, he gave no ear to the prayers of so venerable a suppliant, but cut off his head, which he immediately carried to Marius. That mournful prefent was received with a fatisfaction equal to the impatience with which it was expected. Marius embraced the tribune Annius all bloody as he was; he took the head of Antonius out of his hands, and was not afraid of fouling the table, which was confidered by the ancients as fomething facred, with the blood of fo illustrious a citizen, and so great an Orator. When he had taken time to glut his eyes with fo cruel a fight, he returned it to be fer up on the

A. R. 665 the Tribunal of harangues: fo that "upon the Ant. C. 87 (2 very (a) same place, from whence Marcus Antonius, when Consul, had defended the Commonwealth with fo much courage, was " placed that head, to which fo many citizens " were indebted for their prefervation." This Cicero fays, who hardly thought, when he was writing it, that he was relating his own history; nor that a like fate was referved for himself from the grandson of him, whose misfortune

Deaths Catulus and Me-

rula.

he was so bitterly deploring. After fo many murders, committed with a violence that knew neither check nor bounds. as if the Law had still any sway amidst such horrid diforders, or rather to add infult to cruelty, Marius and Cinna caufed Catulus and Merula to be accused in form. Catulus, who had been Marius's Collegue, and triumphed with him, over the Cimbri, endeavoured to diffwade him. and made his friends ask him permission to quit Rome, and to go into banishment. But he had to do with the most merciless of all Cic. Tufc. mankind; and all the intreaties made to him

Quæft. V. drew from him only a fingle word, which he repeated several times, Let bim die. Catulus 56. accordingly flutting himfelf up in a little chamber, that had been new plaistered with lime, caused a great fire to be kindled in it, and fuf-

focated himself in that manner.

22. Flor. III. 21.

As to Merula, he refolved to make the god whose Priest he was, witness of his death; and having placed himself at the foot of the altar of Jupiter, he opened his veins in fuch a manner,

(a) M Antonii, in his positum caput illud suit, à ipsis Rostris, in quibus ille quo erant multorum civium Rempublicam constantissme capita servata. Cie. de Or. Conful defenderat, --- III. 10.

that

that his blood flew upon the flatue of that god. A. R. 665. He no doubt intended to draw down the vengeance of the gods upon his cruel enemies, who forced him to die. A fingular circumstance, which, though superstitious, does honour to his piety and zeal for his country, is, that, as it Appian. was thought of bad omen, and capable of offending the gods, that the priett of Jupiter should die with his facred mitre upon his head. Merula had the precaution to fet down in his table-book found about him, that, before he opened his veins, he had taken off that facred covering. For the rest, the death of this priest of Jupiter induced almost the extinction of that office. For a vacancy enfued for feventy-feven years. The great Cæsar, then very young, was intended by Marius for Merula's successor. But Sylla's victory rendered that nomination useless and of no effect.

Besides the deaths of these great persons, and Horrible fome others, which history mentions in particu-flaughter. lar, a dreadful flaughter was made of a vast in Rome. number of citizens. A word, a nod of Ma-Marrius's head, cost those, who came in his way, their lives. At length a Senator, who was called Ancharius, having accosted him, and received no answer to his compliment, was masfacred that inftant. And this became the rule. All who came to falute Marius, and had not their falute returned, were killed by the flaves that ferved him as guards: so that his friends themselves approached him not without trembling. Nor was he fatiated with shedding fo much blood. Cinna was tired with killing, and gave out: but as for him, always mercilefs, always thirsting after blood and murders, he spared not one of those, of whom he had conceived

Ant. C. 87, Valef.

A. R. 665. conceived the least suspicion. The slaughter, Dio apud attended with plundering of houses, and the most criminal violences, continued five days and five nights in Rome, which was become a general scene of horror. Whilst the heads of those, who were massacred, were exposed, as we have faid, upon the Tribunal of harangues. their bodies were thrown into the streets, and trampled under foot. For it was prohibited to give them burial.

Plut.

All Italy in like manner felt Marius's fury. The high-ways and cities were full of guards, who followed those, that fled and hid themfelves, like hounds by the fcent. And very few escaped. The unfortunate found neither faithful friends nor relations: and almost all of them were betrayed by those, to whose houses they had fled for fecurity.

Cornutus Tarved by his slaves.

This ought to make the fidelity of Cornutus's flaves the more admirable, who, after having concealed him in a fafe place, took a dead body, which they tied up by the neck to a beam, to make it believed that it was their mafter, who had hanged himself, and shewed him in that condition with a gold ring on his finger to the foldiers, who fought him. They afterwards acted the whole ceremony of a funeral, without any body's suspecting the truth: and during that time Cornutus escaped into their falues, returned; were kills Gaul.

Plut. in Sylla. Mithrid.

Metella, Sylla's wife, was also so fortunate Appian.in to escape the cruelty of Marius with her children, who discharged his vengeance upon the houses Humanity of his enemies in the city and country day

I must not omit here the example of modeof the Roration and humanity fet by the whole people, man Peowhich was a very strong reproach of the barba-Val. Max.

IV. 3.

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rity and ferocity of the victors. For though A. R. 665. Marius gave the houses of those, he had caused to be killed, to be plundered at difcretion, not a fingle citizen would contaminate himself with those unhappy spoils; and all of them respected the houses of the unfortunate, as if they had been facred and inviolable temples.

But none did themselves more honour by Len'ty of their lenity on this deplorable conjuncture than Sertorius. Sertorius. Neither resentment, nor the pride of Plut. in victory, induced him to commit the least violence, or to infult the conquered. He even went farther. As his mildness proceeded from reason, and not weakness, it changed into a fatal feverity against the wicked instruments of cruelty. Enraged at the excesses and barbarities committed by the all-licensed slaves of Marius, he concerted with Cinna, who was more tractable, and having obtained his confent, he caused them to be attacked during the night in the camp, where they refused to shut themfelves up, and killed them every man, to the number of four thousand.

Marius now made dispositions in the affairs of government, or rather his own, deposing the magistrates he suspected, and annulling Sylla's laws. The year being almost expired, Cinna and he nominated themselves Consuls, without any form of affembly or election.

C. MARIUS VII. L. CORNELIUS CINNA II. Ant. C. 86,

He propried the chart had

A. R. 666.

The first day of the new year was signalized New cruelby horrid cruelties. The fon of Marius killed ties of Maone of the Tribunes of the People with his rius. own hands, and fent his head to the Confuls; valet.

E 2

two Liv. Epit.

A. R. 666. two Prætors were banished; and a Senator, cal-Ant. C. 86. led Sex. Licinius, was, by Marius's order, thrown Mar. down the Tarpeian rock.

His death.

Nothing but death could put a stop to the fury of that bloody old man. Nor was it long before it happened. The state of prosperity, in which he was, did not calm the disquiets occasioned by the fear of Sylla's return, who was making war with great fuccess against the Generals of Mithridates. So formidable an avenger made Marius tremble, and he could not even dissemble his fears. One day entertaining himfelf with his friends after supper, having repeated all the adventures of his life, and that viciffitude of glorious prosperities and dreadful difgraces through which he had paffed, he added, that it was not the part of a man of fense to expose himself again, after the experience of fuch events, to the caprices of fortune.

These thoughts tormented him, and occasioned his nights to pass without sleep, which fatigued him extremely. He thought of a temedy, which little agreed either with his age, or dignity. This was to abandon himself to the excesses of the table, and to pass his nights in drinking with his friends. By this regimen he foon inflamed his blood. He was taken with a fever, which presently seized his head, and in his delirium, he raved on nothing but the war with Mithridates. He imagined that he had the command of it, and not only spoke, but made gestures, and assumed the attitudes of a man that fights, or of a General giving orders: so violent and incurable was the passion, and fo deeply had it taken root in his heart, with which ambition and jealoufy uniting, had infpired him for that command. Thus, fays Plutarch,

at the age of seventy, the only man, who had A. R. 666. been seven times Consul, and possessing riches, Ant. C. 86. that might have fufficed for feveral Kings, lamented as one fuffering indigence, and died before he could put his views in execution. Wretch, that instead of enjoying the gifts of fortune with gratitude, fuffered himself to be deprived of the present in being wholly engroffed by a chimerical future. (a) Such is the fate, adds that philosophical historian, of those, who not having early taken care to prepare their minds by fludy and found letters, as a folid foundation and basis for receiving external goods, ineffectually pour both riches and honours into an infatiable abyfs, of which they never find a bottom. Marius died the thirteenth of January.

His death did not restore tranquillity to the Scavola city: and it appeared even at his funeral, that wounded the fury of his partifans, was not extinguished with a with his life. Fimbria, one of the most vio-dagger at lent ministers of his cruelties, who had massa-funeral. cred L. Cæsar, and the son of P. Crassus, ordered fomebody to kill Q. Scævola the Pon-Cic pro tiff, that person so venerable for his virtue, du- Sext. ring the very pomp of the procession. Scavo-Rosc. n. la receiving only a slight wound, Fimbria ci-33. Val. Max. ted him before the People. And when he was ix. 11. asked, what crime he could lay to the charge of a man that it was next to impossible to praise as he deserved? I shall accuse bim, said that brutal wretch, of not baving received enough of the dagger, with which he should have been killed in

⁽a) Πρίν εκ λόγυ κ παιδείας τα κ συμφερεύλες, εμπλήσαι, εδρι υποδαλέσται κ κρηπέδα τοις της ψυχής ε δύναυλαι το ακέρετέωθεν αγαθοίς, συνάγενδες αυ- τον.

A. R. 666. the Forum. Such were the worthy instruments Ant, C. 86. employed by Marius to fatiate his ambition and revenge: and in that manner did he continue by his followers the evils he had perpetrated during his life. wall and him

Reflexion upon the character of Marius, and bis fortune. LXXX. Vell. II. 11 & 23. IX. 1.

Carrie A

Almost all those, who spoke of Marius, have observed, that he was (a) less fatal to his country in peace than to his enemies in war. Valerius Maximus goes farther, and judges with reason, (b) that his victories were not a suffici-Liv. Epit. ent compensation for the horrors of which he had been guilty: and that he merited admiration less for his great actions against the enemies Val. Max of Rome, than the public hatred and deteftation for the crimes he had committed against his country. And indeed he had all the vices of great wicked men: he had neither fidelity, honour, nor humanity; he was ungrateful, an enemy to all virtue, jealous of all merit, and cruel as a wild beaft. When after all this, Marius is treated as a great man, and an hero, it is perhaps the most flagrant example of the weakness of mankind, who so little understand their interests, as to annex the idea of greatness and heroism to the fatal art of destroying their fpecies, and who can admit, that fuch heroifm can fubfift with the vices most pernicious to society. Conwibite

His fortune scarce seems more worthy of envy, than his conduct of praise. He, without doubt, became the most famous of the Romans. But if, instead of suffering ourselves to be daz-राज विकास व्यवस्था व्यवस्था विकास

eds were some die ti

mus, tantum pace pessimus ejus non fuerunt : quarum vir in belle hostibus, oblitus, plus criminis domi, Vell.

⁽a) Quantum bello opti- (b) Penè tanti victoriæ in otio civibus infestissimus. quam laudis militiæ meruit. Val. Max.

zled by the vain splendor of riches and dignities, A. R. 666. we confider what it cost him to acquire and secure the possession of them; what intrigues, cabals, anxieties: add to these the torment of envy, fears, vexation on being often forced to give way, and lastly, the deplorable circumstances of his flight. Would not he have been more happy, if tranquil in the obscure state he was born, cultivating the little land, either left him by his father, or acquired by his own labour, he had led a life exempt from care and dangers?

Let me be fuffered to carry my views still Reflection farther, and to add to the example of Marius, upon the that of the commonwealth itself, of which he flate. was both the preserver and executioner. What a dreadful fituation was that of Rome in the midst of all its prosperity and greatness? She is victorious over all her enemies, and tyrannized over by her own citizens. She puts to flight, and cuts in pieces, foreign armies, and is drowned in her own blood. She gives laws to all nations, and cannot support her own, that change every instant with the caprices of the tyrants that oppress her. And it is even this prosperity that gives birth to all her calamities. Modest and happy as long as the was weak and low; it is good fortune that introduces the most horrid of vices and calamities into her bosom. Such is the error and uncertainty of all human things! fo ignorant are men of what constitute their real happiness! Let us conclude then, that there is no folid felicity either for states or private persons, but in the practice of virtue; and that virtue is much more the friend and companion of mediocrity, than of too great elevation of fortune.

possession by Sylla, and

BOOK

BOOK THE THIRTY SECOND.

and laking the deplocable concumbences of

evating the little large Hurer left him by her ta

roraged in the obleure, lette he was born cub-

ROMAN HISTORY.

HICH first contains the beginnings of Mithridates's first war with the Romans, to the peace granted him by Sylla; and lastly Sylla's return to Italy, which happens the 668th year of Rome.

SECT. I.

Ancestors and nobility of Mitbridates. Comets, the pretended presage of his future greatness. He is exposed in his infancy to the plots of his guardians. They turn to his advantage. cruelty. He was a great Eater and Drinker. His ambition and first conquests. Astual State of Asia Minor. Mithridates meditates long his scheme of war with the Romans. He divides Paphlagonia with Nicomedes. After kaving extirpated the race of the Kings of Cappadicia, be puts one of bis sons in possession of that Kingdom. Competitor opposed by Nicomedes to the fon of Mitbridates. The Senate baving offered the Cappadocians liberty, they choose rather to have a King, and elect Ariobarzanes, who is put into possession by Sylla, and then

then dethroned by Tigranes. Nicomedes, Son of Nicomedes Philopator, is dethroned by Mithridates. Aquillius is fent by the Senate to reinstate the detbroned Kings. Mitbridates forms a powerful league against the Romans. Nicomedes is engaged by Aquillius to make an incurfion into the territories of Mithridates. The latter sends complaints to Rome. Ambiguous answer of the Romans. Mithridates detbrones Ariobarzanes. He fends a new Embaffy to the Roman Generals, appealing to the decision of the Senate. The Roman Generals affemble three armies to re-instate Ariobarzanes and defend Nicomedes. Forces of Mitbridates. Nicomedes is defeated by the Generals of Mitbridates. Aquillius is also overcome. The whole country remains open to Mitbridates, who gains the affection of the People by his lenity, and liberality. Speech of Mithridates to his army. All Afia Minor submits to bim. He takes Oppius the Roman General prisoner: then Aquillius, whom be treats with indignities, and upon whom be inflicts a cruel punishment. He marries Monima. The Senate and People of Rome declare against kim. He causes fourscore thousand Romans to be massacred in one day. Rutilius escapes. Horrid calumny of Theophanes against Rutilius. Only the Rhodians continue faithful to the Romans. Mitbridates besieges Rhodes in person, and is obliged to raise the siege. Two remarkable circumstances of bis character. Measures, which he takes for pushing the war, and invading Greece. History of Aristion the Sophist, who makes Mithridates master of Athens. Bruttius Sura checks the progress of Mitbridates.

Micone

then delibrened by ? TATE have long been engroffed by melan-Choly objects. Rome and Italy have presented nothing but spectacles of horror. believe it will be some relief to the Reader, at least I find it so to me, to remove to a foreign war, in which the Roman valour is employed against the power of an enemy to Rome, and not against allies and fellow-citizens. Sylla made war against Mithridates, whilst his party was crushed in Italy by Marius's faction. Hence the order of time requires us now to enter upon the history of that great war, however refuming things a little higher.

lity of Mithridates.

Anceffors - Mithridates, at first furnamed Eupator, and and Nobi- afterwards the Great, had received from his fore-fathers a Kingdom of considerable extent, as it included all the country bordering upon the Euxine Sea, from the banks of the river Halys as far as Colchis. However none of his predecessors and ancestors had made themselves very famous. All that we know of those Kings, which is no great matter, may be feen in Mr. Rollin's Ancient * Hiftory, or in that of the + Jews of Mr. Prideaux. The most † Vol. V. remarkable fact there, in respect to Mithridates, is, that he was descended from the most illustrious origin in the Universe, as it was traced back to one of the feven Persian No-§ Hinc. blemen, who killed the Magus § Smerdis. Ap-Hist. Vol. pian expressly mentions, as the author of his race, Darius the fon of Hystaspes, who, after thrid p. having killed the Magus, became King of Persia: which some of the Learned explain by fuppoling, that the Kings of Pontus descended from Artabranes or Artabarzanes, the fon of Darius, and elder brother of Xerxes, who hav-

11. Appian Mi-

* Vol.

lib. XIII.

VII.

ing

ing been obliged to cede the Empire of the Persians to his younger brother, born after his father's accession to the throne, in order to confole him, obtained a settlement upon the coast of the Euxine Sea.

The father of Mithridates Eupator, was also called Mithridates, with the furname of Evergetes. That Prince was the first of his race. that made an alliance with the Romans. He had supplied them with some aid in the third war with Carthage, and in that against Aristonicus. He received as a reward Phrygia major, dismembered from the dominions of the Kings of Pergamus, upon which he had before fome ancient pretentions. His father Pharnaces had added the city of Sinope to his Kingdom; an important conquest, and which became the refidence of the Kings of Pontus, and the capital Mithridates Evergetes of their Dominions. perished in this city by the conspiracy of some of his court, leaving two fons, the eldeft of whom, our Mithridates, was in his twelfth year. His death, and consequently the beginning of the reign of Mithridates the Great, may be referred to the 629th year of Rome.

History has observed, that the year of Mi-Comets, the thridates Eupator's accession to the crown, as presented well as that of his birth, was signalized by the presage of appearance of a comet, which was seen during bis future greatness. seventy days, and of which the light was so Justin. great, that the whole sirmament seemed on sire. XXXVII. For, as it is said, its magnitude (no doubt including its tail) occupied the fourth part of the heavens, and its light effaced that of the sun itself; and when it rose or set, it required four hours both for its total appearance and total disappearance. I leave it to the Astrologers to

judge,

judge, whether this description be not exaggerated, and whether flattery has not magnified the comet to exalt the glory of the Prince, whose greatness it was pretended to presage. may not improperly observe, that comets have with reason in these days lost abundance of their credit, which never had any other foundation than a stupid admiration for every thing extraordinary, and the phrenzy of defiring to penetrate futurity, of which the knowledge is referved to God alone.

infancy to the plots of bis guardians.

It is certain, that the situation of Mithiridates posed in bis in the beginning of his reign, did not denounce what he became in the fequel. Nothing feemed less terrible: a kingdom in no wise comparable to those, over which the Romans had already triumphed; an infant King, exposed to the continual plots of perfidious guardians, who fpared no means imaginable to deflroy him. It is, however, in this state of obscurity and weakness, that the greatest (a) King in the world was formed; one infinitely superior to all the Princes his cotemporaries, and whose exploits equal the most illustrious conquerors, that had preceded him; the most formidable enemy Rome had after Hannibal; who fustained against the Romans, then at the very highest degree of their power, a war of thirty years with various fuccess; and who, after having had the

> (a) Cujus ea magnitudo fuit, ut non sui tantum temporis, verum etiam superioris ætatis omnes Reges majestate superaverit, bellaque eum Romanis per * xxx annos varia victoria gesserit : Justin. XXXVII. 1.

quum evm fummi imperatores, Sylla, Lucullus, Pompeius, ita vicerint, ut major clariorque in restaurando bello resurgeret, damnisque fuis terribilior reddere:ur.

^{*} The text of Justin suys XLVI, but that is a manifest evror. most

most able Generals, Sylla, Lucullus, Pompey, to deal with, in proportion as he was overcome, acquired greater forces, and became more ter-

rible by his loffes and defeats.

The bad designs of his guardians turned to They turn his advantage. They endeavoured to make to his adhim ride a vicious horse not broke, obliging vantage. him to run, and exercise darting the javelin at the same time. His strength and address preferved him from all danger: and he became the best horseman of his kingdom. They had afterwards recourse to poison. But the young Prince, who distrusted them, by way of precaution, used antidotes, and was the only one Plin. who contracted the habit of taking poison every XXV. 2: day, after having prepared himself for it with its contrary, in fuch a manner, that in the extremities of his affairs, when he was for poisoning himself, he could not accomplish his end of dying by that means. Necessity had even made him a great proficient in this kind of knowledge: and he was the inventor of feveral kinds of antidotes, of which one has retained his name. At length, as he apprehended, that his enemies would execute that by the fword which they had failed of by poison, he removed entirely from cities; and under pretext of a violent passion for hunting, he lived, if we may believe Trogus Pompeius abridged by Justin, feven whole years in the forests, without ever entering not only into any city, but under any roof in the country, passing the nights in the midst of woods, often without any body's knowing the place of his retreat; for the reft, exercifing himfelf in purfuing, flying, and fighting wild beafts: and by those violent exercites he acquired fuch strength of body and vi-

gour of constitution, as enabled him to undergo all fatigues, and did not abandon him even in old age. emend bee

Frein-

them.

Louis.

Supplem.

This life was well adapted to inspiring him with a kind of ferocity of character, that degenerated into cruelty. And the dangers, to which he continually faw himself exposed from those, who had most reason to be attached to his person, also promoted that bad temper. Accordingly, he was cruel to excefs. He not only, when he assumed the reins of empire, put his guardians who well deferved it, to death LXIII.46 but he did not spare even his own mother, whom he probably suspected of having shared in their bad defigns. He also deprived his brother of life; no doubt, from apprehending a competitor in him. His fons, daughters, and wives, at different times, experienced his barbarity; as we shall shew in the sequel. I do not mention his cruelties to the Romans; though (a) war has also its laws, and the rights of humanity ought to take place, even between enemies. The sed sao doldw to sytobling to shrik

HOUR

He also, in consequence of the same rough great eater and laborious education, became a great eater and dink- and drinker: and this, according to some, occafioned him to be furnamed Dionysius or Batchus. Other authors give that surname a more honourable origin according to the ideas of Pagans. They fay, that whilft he was a child in the cradle, thunder fell fo near him as to burn his blankets, and some of his hair, without doing him any hurt: and that this accident, which resembles what Fable related of Bacchus, caused the name of that god to be ap-

hahring wild bealts; and by those violence (a) Sunt & belli, sicut pacis, jura. Liv. V. 27-

plied to him. However that were, it is certain Mithridates not only ate and drank much, but valued himself upon it; so that one day at table he proposed a prize for the person, that should outdo the rest of the guests in that point, and that prize was adjusted to himself. A fine Nicol. triumph for a King! For the reft, it does not Dam. appear that the pleasures of the table made him Athen. X. neglect his affairs. Ambition was his ruling 3.

passion, and shewed itself very early.

He no fooner faw himfelf in quiet possession His ambiof his dominions, than (a) he conceived thoughts tion and not of governing, fays Justin, but extending first conthem. If that Author intended by this, as he justin. feems to do, to praise him, he was undoubtedly XXXVII. much mistaken. The first exploits of Mithri-3. dates were against the Scythians, and the other Barbarian nations, and even fome Greek Colonies, that inhabited the north of the Euxine Sea; and he reduced all that coast as far as the Bosphorus and Palus Mæotis. Such great fuccesses shushed him, and made him conceive the defign of universal monarchy. Strabo, a Strabo. 1. very judicious author, and perfectly informed VII. of what related to this Prince, fays, that from P. 309. thenceforth he entertains thoughts of penetrating by that way as far as the Adriatic Sea, in order to attack the Romans. But the affairs of Asia called him elsewhere, and presented him more easy and better chosen conquests.

In these wars, wherein he had to do with favage nations, he enured his body more and more against fatigues, and his mind against danger. His troops accustomed to cross delarts

ment of

⁽a) Statim non de regendo, sed de augendo regno cogitavit. Jufim.

and vast uncultivated regions, and to suffer hunger, and the regions of cold, were become invincible under a potent and warlike King. who generally marched on foot at their head. In consequence the Asiatics must have been an easy prey, nations in all times effeminate and enervated to excess by the delicious abundance of their country,

State of

But to understand rightly what we are to re-Afia Mi- late, we must call to mind what the state of nor at that Asia Minor, and of the principal powers that divided it, was at that time. The Romans possessed Asia properly so called, that is the Kingdom of Pergamus, which had been left them by the Will of Attalus Philometor, and conquered by them from Aristonicus. Nicomedes (a) Philopator, fon of Prusias, reigned in Bithynia. Paphlagonia had long had its King, whose common name was Pylemenes. As it was firuated between the dominions of the Kings of Pontus and Bithynia, it had fuffered much from those two powerful neighbours; and its ancient Kings feemed to have been reduced very low from the time of Mithridates Evergetes. Next to Paphlagonia, along the coast of the Euxine Sea, was the Kingdom of Pontus. Cappadocia was under Ariarathes, the fon of another of that name, who died in the service of the Romans in the war with Aristonicus. Galatia was divided between several Tetrarchs. . But all these States, and the other parts of Afia Minor, without being immediately under the Roman sway, respected their greatness, and in a manner received the law

⁽a) This furname, which Nicomedes, who had caused fignifies Lover of his Father, Prufias to be killed. was a severe reproach to

from them. Especially when any troubles or quarrel arose between the Princes or states of those countries, the Romans did not fail to make themselves the Arbitrators of them, and their

opinion was a kind of orders.

Mithridates, an haughty and ambitious Mithridas Prince, far from suffering patiently this sub-tes long jection, had no thoughts but of substituting meditates himself in their stead. He thought it nothing of a war to invade the dominions of his neighbours, of with the whom in reallity none were capable to refift him. Romans. His aim was against the Romans: and not doubting, but he should draw their arms upon him, as foon as he should undertake to augment his power, because they were always attentive to prevent the crushing of the weak, and the aggrandizing of those, who might give them umbrage, he on a fudden formed a plan for driving them entirely out of Asia. To enable Justin. himself to attack the Roman province with ad- Ibid. vantage, he thought proper to inform himfelf with his own eyes. He made the tour of it in disguise with some of his friends; and passed through it without being known by any one, examining the cities, important posts, passes of rivers, and every thing that might facilitate the conquest of it.

He had a pretext for war with them ready, Juffin. founded on their having divefted him of Phrygia xxxviii. 5. Major, that had been given his father, in re-Appian Mithrid. ward for fervices done by him in the war with p. 208. Aristonicus. The Romans pretended, that it was Aquillius, who on his own authority, and for prefents made him by Mithridates Evergetes, had given him that province, and they took the advantage of the infancy of his fon, to deprive him of it, and to declare Phrygia a free

Vol. X.

* Vo'. VIII. at the end.

This Perit

flate. And indeed Aquillius had been accused of extortion, at his return from Asia, as has been * related in its place. Thus the conduct of the Romans was not without the appearance at least of justice. But it is easy to conceive what a wound fuch a treatment had left in the heart of Mithridates, and what refentment he retained in effect. He however did not blindly follow the dictates of his revenge. He chose rather that it should be slow, provided it should in effect be more fure. He gave his defign time to ripen, and refolved to aggrandize himfelf gradually, and to acquire as much ftrength as poffible, in order to be in a condition to attack fo formidable a power as the Romans.

He divides nia with Nicomedes.

Juftin. 4.

He had pretenfions upon Paphlagonia; and Paphlago- having made a treaty with Nicomedes, they conquered it at their common expence, and divided it between them. The Romans imme-XXXVII. diately took the alarm, and fent an Embaffy to order the two Kings to reinstate the Paphlagonian nation in its former condition. Mithridates answered haughtily, that country belonged to him, as it had done to his father, by right of inheritance, and without being terrified by the menaces of the Embassadors, he at the fame time feized Galatia. Nicomedes, who knew he was not fo ftrong, pretended to obey. But having made one of his fons affume the name of Pylemenes, he placed him upon the throne of Paphlagonia, as if reviving the name of their Kings, had been re-establishing them in their former condition. Thus the Embaffy of the Romans was eluded. It was perhaps on this occasion, that Mithridates sent that Embassy to Rome, which Saturninus infulted, as has been related above. was all to this at to mid syring

The affair of Paphlagonia had no important A. R. 651. consequences: but the enterprizes of Mithri- After havdates upon Cappadocia, at length produced an pated the open rupture between him and the Romans, race of the There was no crime, that he did not commit to Kings of Coppadomake himself master of that Kingdom, which cia, be was entirely commodious for him, and bordered places one upon his Dominions. He caused the King of his sons Ariarathes, who was his brother-in-law, hav- upon the ing married Laodice the King of Pontus's fifter, that kingto be affaffinated. He killed the eldest fon of dom. the same Ariarathes, with his own hand at an Justin. interview, which he had deceitfully concerted. XXXVIII I. and z. He dethroned his fecond nephew, who died in consequence of grief. And lastly, not daring to take possession of Cappadocia in his own name, he made one of his fons King, aged only eighteen, whom he caused to take the name of Ariarathes, and was for passing him for the (a) fon, or rather grandson, of him, who died in the war with Aristonicus.

Nicomedes faw Mithridates aggrandize him-Competitor felf in this manner with a jealous eye. He used opposed by great efforts to prevent it, or at least to share in Nicomedes to the son the prey But not being able to fucceed by of Milhrie force, he had recourse to fraud. Laodice, the dates. King of Pontus's fifter, and mother of the two last lawful Kings of Cappadocia, inraged to see herself persecuted by her brother, had thrown herself into the arms of Nicomedes, and had married him. Ambition and revenge fuggefted to them the defign of fetting up a third Ariarathes,

is equivocal, ex Ariarathe ge- rather as the grandson of the nitum. But the Prince's ancient Ariarathes. That

⁽a) The expression of Justin that he Should be considered age here mentioned requires, Ariarathes had fix fons, the five

Ariarathes, brother of the two former, to whom they pretended, that the Kingdom of Cappadocia belonged: and Laodice went expressly to Rome to support the fraud with the Senate. Mithridates did not give place to his enemies in point of impudence, and fent Ambaffadors to Rome to declare, that the King established by him was truly of the blood Royal. of Cappadocia, and descended from the ancient Ariarathes.

The Senate fered the Cappadocians lichoose rather to bave a King, and

The Senate were not to be deceived by these having of gross frauds, which unmasked and destroyed each other; and conformably to the ancient maxims of the Roman policy, always intent berty, they upon weakening the Kings, and gaining nations by the gift of a liberty, that had more appearance than reality in it, they declared, that

elect Ario- five eldest of which had been of these five Princes. To barzanes. poisoned by their mother, Mi- make this the clearer a Geneathridates no doubt fet up his logical branch will not be im-Ariarathes, as son of one proper.

ARIARATHES.

Who died in the war with Aristonicus.

Five eldeft ARIARATHES LAODICE Sifter of Mipoisoned by affaffinated by their mother, order of Mithridates. from one of thridates. which was made to pais as Son.

fupposed killed by Mi- dethroned by Prince of Cap- thridates with Mithridates, Sonof Mithridates.

ARIARATHES ARIARATHES ARIARATHES padocia, really his own hand, and died of

Prince fuppofed fet up by Nico-

Mithridates

The Beginnings of MITHRIDATES.

Mithridates and Nicomedes should abandon, the one Cappadocia and the other Paphlagonia, and that those two countries should be free for the future. We do not know what effect this decree of the Senate had in respect to Paphla- Strabo gonia. But the Cappadocians extremely fur-1. XII. prized the Romans by the declaration they P. 540. made, that liberty would be a burthen to them, and that their nation could not fubfift without a King. The Senate amazed beyond imagination, however permitted the Cappadocians to retain the kind of government, that fuited them best, and to elect themselves a King as they judged proper. Their choice fell upon Ariobarzanes, which was confirmed by the Senate, and whose posterity reigned to the third generation.

Sylla, who had been Prætor the year before, Who is put was commissioned to put the new King in post- in possession fession of Cappadocia. The thing was not by Sylla. without its difficulty. Mithridates, indeed, Sylla. dared not openly oppose the decrees of the Se- A. R. 660. nate: but he fet one Gordius fecretly at work, whom he had before employed, to affaffinate King Ariarathes his brother-in-law, and whom he appointed guardian of his false Ariarathes. He had in the last place laboured to have him elected King by the Cappadocians; and though the affair had miscarried, Gordius had still a party in the kingdom, with which he was fo bold to make head against Sylla. The Roman had no great trouble in defeating and expelling him: and Cappadocia, under a King, the friend of Rome and dependant of the Romans, got entirely rid of Mithridates. It was in this manmer Sylla began with the King, and, to use the expression,

expression, played the prelude to the hot war he was fome years after to make with him.

And then dethroned by Tigranes.

The new affront, which the Romans had made Mithridates suffer, exasperated that haugh-

Iuftin. XXXVIII 3.

ty spirit. But as he was no less politic than enterprizing, before he openly declared himfelf their enemy, he resolved to secure himself a potent neighbouring ally. Tigranes, King of Armenia, had very much extended the dominions of his ancestors by his conquests, and formed a great empire. Mithridates made him first marry his daughter Cleopatra. which, apprehending still that a war with the Romans would terrify him, he resolved to embroil him with them without his perceiving it; and he fent Gordius to him, to implore his aid for his re-establishment in Cappadocia, which he pretended to belong to him; infinuating at the same time to Tigranes the facility of dethroning a weak and ill-fettled King like Aria-The King of Armenia tempted by barzanes. this propofal, which flattered his ambition and vanity, fuffered himself to be engaged in what Mithridates desired. He sent two of his Generals with an army against Ariobarzanes, who, perceiving the party too unequal, and besides being no warrior, as foon as he faw the fform ready to fall upon him, secured his effects and fled to Rome.

Nicomedes. is dethron-Appian. Mithrid.

At the same time Nicomedes Philopater hapthe Son of pening to die, the inheritance of the crown oc-Philopater, him two Countries in Bithynia. He left behind him two fons, of which the eldeft, called Nied by Mi- comedes as well as his father, was acknowledgthridates, ed, and supported by the Romans: Mithridates supported the other, whose name was Socrates; and as he was upon the fpot, he fupplied

plied him with fuch powerful aids, that Nicomedes was dethroned, and went to Rome to join his complaints with those of Ariobarzanes.

The Romans were then in a very great per- Aquillius plexity. It was in the height of the war of the is fent by Allies, which laid them under the impossibility to reinstate of providing for the occasions of countries so the deremote. They however fent Commissioners, at throned the head of whom was that M. Aquillius, who Kings. had terminated the war of the flaves in Sicily; a brave warrior, but avaricious, as has been observed elsewhere. These Commissioners had orders to reinstate the Kings, Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes, and for that purpose to call in the aid not only of L. Cassius, Proconful of Asia, but of Mithridates himself. For that Prince had not appeared directly in all these movements, of which he was however the foul: and the Romans who were not mistaken in respect to them, had probably put that circumstance into their decree, in order to reduce them to declare himself. They had long perceived, that he was preparing for a war with them: and we have feen, that the heads of the Commonwealth, and fuch as could pretend to commands, passionately defired that occasion of acquiring glory, and inriching themselves with the spoils of Asia.

Mithridates acted with great prudence. He Mithridawas far from contributing to re-establish the tes forms a Princes he had dethroned in their Dominions. league a-But being unwilling to appear the first in break- gainst the ing with the Romans, he continued quiet, and Romans. fuffered Aquillius and Cassius, with such troops Appian. as they could draw together, to replace Nicomedes upon the throne of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes upon that of Cappadocia. During:

F 4

this

this feeming inaction he strengthened himself exceedingly. He made a Treaty with Tigranes, by which it was agreed between them, that of the conquests which they should make together, the cities and countries should belong to Mithridates, and all the men and plunder to the King of Armenia. Mithridates, as appears by this treaty, knew how to take his advantages. But Tigranes had also his view, which was to people Tigranocerta, that he was then building. and which he defigned to make one of the greatest cities in the Universe. The King of Pontus brought also into his interests the Gallo-Græcians, the Sarmatæ, the Bastarnæ and the Scythians. He had great bodies of troops from those nations, and in a word, armed almost all Upper Asia against the Romans. With fuch powerful preparations he contented himself however with observing their motions, without committing any act of hostility; defigning to have the appearance of justice and equity on his fide. It was in these circumstances he received an Embassy from the Italian States, to invite him to join his forces with theirs. But the affairs of Asia were too much embroiled to make it possible for Mithridates to remove from it, and the fruits he hoped from them were more certain and immediate.

Diodor.

I. xxxvii.

Nicomedes
is induced
by Aquillius
to make an
incursion
into the
dominions
of Mitbridates.
Appian.

The occasion he waited was soon supplied him by the avidity of the Roman Generals. As soon as they had reinstated the Kings of Bythinia and Cappadocia, they incessantly pressed them to undertake something against Mithridates, in order to induce the war. Those two Princes had no inclination to it, being afraid to draw an enemy again upon them, whose strength they had already experienced. But at length Nicomedes,

who

who had promised great sums to the Roman Generals and Commissioners for obtaining his re-establishment, which were still unpaid, and being preffed belides by a great number of other Romans, who had lent him money, refolved notwithstanding his repugnance, to fatisfy them. He therefore entered the country of the King of Pontus in arms, and laid it waste as far as the city Amastris without any Resistance. For Mithridates, true to his plan, was glad to have good causes of complaint, and to make the

Romans act the part of Aggreffors.

As foon as Nicomedes retired, Mithridates, Mithrito fix the wrong upon the Romans, fent them dates comhis complaints by an Ambassador, who took plains of it great care at first to dwell upon the quality of mans. Ally of the Roman People, that Mithridates and his father had constantly maintained. He alledged as a proof of his mafter's fidelity to this alliance, the submission with which he had acquiesced in being deprived of Phrygia Major and Cappadocia, to which he pretended to have the justest claim. He added, that it was in the fame spirit of respect for the Romans, that he had fu ffered the last infult of Nicomedes, the he had more than sufficient forces to repel it. He concluded, that the Romans ought either to force the King of Bithynia to make him fatisfaction, or to consent that Mithridates should do himself justice.

After Pelopidas, so the Ambassador of Mithridates was called, had spoke to this effect. those of Nicomedes, who were present at the audience, began. They had no difficulty to prove the justice of their master's arms, and of the revenge he had taken of an enemy, who had armed his own brother against him. But they 4.5 4.6

they expatiated most in shewing both by the whole conduct of the King of Pontus, and the immense preparations he had made, that his defigns had a much higher and more important aim than Bithynia, and that it was the Romans he meditated. They concluded this discourse with exhorting the Romans not to have the change put upon them. "It behoves your " wisdom, said they, not to wait till Mithri-" dates shall please to declare himself your " enemy: and you ought rather to confider " his actions than his words. Beware of giv-" ing up your true and real friends to a Prince, who only difguifes himfelf with the outfide " of a diffembled amity; and do not fuffer him who is as much your enemy as ours, to " make void your decree concerning Bithynia, " and to prevent the lawful King of it from " enjoying your favour."

Pelopidas in his answer consented, that the Romans should be arbitrators in respect to the ancient differences between Mithridates and Nicomedes, but perfifted in demanding justice of them for the last hostilities committed by the King of Bithynia, of which themselves had

been witneffes.

Ambiguous the Romans.

The Romans were at a loss what answer to Answer of make. They were fully determined to support Nicomedes, and it was only for form-fake they had heard the Ambassador of Mithridates. But on the other fide, the alliance with that Prince still subsisted. They therefore disguised their thoughts in an ambiguous meaning, which Appian repeats in these words: "If Mithridates has been hurt by Nicomedes, we are forry: but we will not suffer Nicomedes to be at-" tacked, which is contrary to the interests of " the

the Commonwealth." Pelopidas, who perceived that the Romans avoided explaining themselves, pressed in vain for a more circumstantial declaration. He was obliged to return without any other reply.

Mithridates took the answer of the Romans Mithrifor a refusal of justice. Therefore observing dates demeasures no longer, he sent his son Ariarathes thrones into Cappadocia with a powerful army: and Ariobarthough Mancinus, one of the Senate's Commissioners, was upon the spot, and supported Ariobarzanes, the battle was fought, and Ariarathes being victorious, repossessed himself of

the Kingdom of Cappadocia.

Mithridates, after having made the Romans He fends a fensible in this manner, that he did not fear new Emthem, fent back the same Pelopidas with in- baffy to fructions more haughty than before. He had the Roman orders to complain in the strongest terms, not citing them, of the Commonwealth and Senate, but of the to answer Roman Generals, who were in Asia, and be- before the fore whom he spoke. He pretended, that what had lately happened in Cappadocia, was the fruit and reward of their injustice and bad treatment of his mafter, whose power he magnified. and the extent of his dominions, the Allies he had made, and the forces he had affembled by fea and land. He reproached them, that it was a great imprudence to engage their Commonwealth in a war with fo powerful a King, whilft they were scarce able to oppose the arms of their Allies of Italy, who attacked the centre of their empire. He threatened them with laying his complaints against them before the Senate, and to cite them to appear to give an account of their conduct. And laftly, as Mithridates still called himself the ally of Rome, Pelopidas

Pelopides declared in his name, that if justice were done him in respect to Nicomedes, he was ready to aid the Romans against the revolted Italians. If not, added he, at length throw off the appearance of amity, or elfe let us proceed to

a trial before the Senate.

The Roman Generals. ,a Temble three reftoring defending

The Roman Generals were extremely piqued at the haughtiness of this discourse, which attacked them personally. They answered in a armies for no less lefty manner that they forbade Mithridates either to attack Nicomedes, or to interzanes, and meddle in the affairs of Cappadocia, whither they were going to reinstate Ariobarzanes di-Nicomedes. rectly. And in dismissing the Ambassador with this answer, they declared to him, that it was to no purpose to return any more, if he did not bring with him his mafter's entire fubmission to the laws they prescribed him. But as they did not rely upon that fubmission, they assembled forces from all fides, Phrygia, Paphlagonia and the neighbouring countries: and joining these troops with the body of Romans under L. Caffius, Proconful of Asia, they formed three divisions of them, of which each commanded one. Cassius with one of these armies encamped upon the frontiers of Bithynia and Gallogræcia; Aquillius took upon himself to oppose the entrance of Mithridates into Bithynia; and Q. Appius marched towards Cappadocia: they had also a fleet near Byzantium, to shut up that of Mithridates in the Euxine Sea. Nicomedes on his fide affembled an army of fifty thousand foot, and fix thousand horse. In this manner did three Roman Generals, without the order of the Senate, undertake a war of fo great importance, and of which the consequences were fatal to fo many nations. The

The imprudence of these Roman Generals Forces of was the greater, as the power and preparations of Mitbri-Mithridates were formidable. He had of his own forces two hundred and fifty thousand foot, forty thousand horse, an hundred and thirty chariots armed with scythes, three hundred decked thips, and an hundred others of finaller fize. Add to this, able Generals, as Neoptolimus and Archelaus, who were brothers, Dorylaus and fome others, all formed by long experience of war, and upon whom however Mithridaces did not rely fo much, as not to fee every thing with his own eyes, and conduct all important enterprizes in person. Most of the Kings of the East were in his interest. Tigranes was his fon-inlaw, and supplied him with troops. The Kings of Parthia, Syria and Egypt favoured him. He had spared nothing for amassing immense stores of all kinds: and for his fleet, he had caused pilors to come from Egypt and Phænicia, countries where navigation had been successfully cultivated in all ages. Such great forces promifed great advantages over enemies ill-prepared, and almost taken at unawares: and he was not deceived in his hopes.

His Generals at first gained a considerable Nicomedes victory over Nicomedes near a river called is over-Amnias, in Paphlagonia. The King of Bi-come by the thynia's camp was taken with immense booty, Miebriand a great number of prisoners. This com-dates. pleat victory was gained by the light-armed foot only, supported by the horse, the Phalanx not being able to share in the battle: and from thence the Roman Generals began to conceive fear, feeing the less number defeat the greater. and that not from the advantage of the ground, nor by the fault or cowardise of the Bithynians,

but

but by the ability of Mithridates's Generals, and the valour of his army. The fruit of this victory to Mithridates was the conquest of Paphlagonia; he subjected it on his march, and encamped at the mountain of * Scoroba upon the frontiers of Bithynia.

Aquillius is also defeated.

The Romans themselves soon experienced the valour of the enemy they had at first defpised. Nicomedes having drawn together the remnant of his defeat, had joined Aquillius. But upon the approach of Mithridates's army, and in confequence of a fmall action, in which an hundred Sarmation horse had defeated eight hundred Bithynians, those troops already terrified with their former difgrace were feized with fear and dispersed: and Aquillius not being frong enough to relift the enemy, was entirely defeated, loft his camp, fled towards the river Sangarius, and having passed it in the night, did not believe himself safe till he arrived in Pergamus.

The whole country remains open to Mitbrigains the affection of the Nations by popular bebaviour and liberality. Diodor. apud . Vales.

This fecond victory opened the whole country to Mithridates. Cassius retired to Apamea, Nicomedes to Pergamus, Mancinus to Rhodes, They shut themand Oppius to Laodicea. dates, who selves up in the cities, not being able to keep the field. At the same time the fleet, that guarded the entrance of the Euxine Sea, separated, and feveral of Nicomedes's ships were even delivered up by their commanders to Mithridates. Thus that Prince being mafter of all the passes by sea and land, had only to appear, to receive the fubmission of the States, that came in emulation of each other to pay their homage to him. For like a wife conqueror he had taken care to

^{*} Some Suppose this might be Mount Hypius, mentioned b Pliny, V. 32, dr lo stibrawoo to that edi ve ron

conciliate their affection; treating all the Aliatic prisoners that had fallen into his hands with every kind of indulgence. In the like manner Hannibal of old, at the same time that he exercifed the greatest rigours over the Roman prisoners, was prodigal to the Latines, and people of Italy, whom the chance of war had brought into his power, of careffes and instances of favour. This conduct fucceeded perfectly well with Mithridates. The cities contended Cic. pro with each other in inviting him to honour Flacco. them with his presence; calling him, according n. 60. to the impious custom of those dark times, their God and Preserver. All Bithynia was reduced in a few days. From thence Mithridates entered Phrygia, which belonged to the Romans; and he resolved to take up the same quarters Alexander had done of old; an happy omen, and at the same time a comparison that foothed his vanity.

He forgot nothing that might conciliate so Justin. many new conquests to his sway: and uniting **xxxiii. 3. actual liberality with caresses, he granted to the cities a general remittance of all they owed, either to the Government, or Particulars, and an exemption from taxes for sive years. The immense treasures of their ancient Kings, on which he seized, and the abundance of provisions and ammunition which he found laid up every where, enabled him to display benevolence and magnificence, without depriving himself of the necessary resources for advancing the

war and his conquests.

Till his entrance into Phrygia; Mithridates Speech of had not directly attacked the Romans, but Mithrida-only their Allies. He then took off the mask, tes to his and openly declared himself an enemy to Rome. Justin.

As xxxviii 4:

As he undertook a war against fo formidable a People, he thought it necessary to encourage his troops, and Justin has preserved the oration, which Trojus Pompeius put into his mouth upon this occasion. As this discourse is extremely long, and recites in few words, abundance of facts, both ancient and modern, which the reader has already feen, I shall content myself with abridging it here, and with only repeating the circumstances of it that feem most remarkable.

Mithridates proves first to his foldiers, that the Romans are not invincible, by mentioning on that head, not only the advantages themfelves had lately gained over those haughty enemies, but the great victories of Pyrrhus, Hannibal, and the Gauls. He reprefented to them the actual fituation of Rome in her difficult struggle with the Italian Rebels, and torn in pieces by domestic divisions. He concluded from thence, (a) that it was necessary to seize the occasion for augmenting their own strength at their expence, " leaft, added he, if we conec tinue quiet, whilft they are employed, we " should find more difficulty to sustain their

" efforts, when they are free and difengaged " from all they have now upon their hands.

" For we are not to enquire now, whether war

" is to be made with them; but whether we

" fhall take our time, or wait theirs."

From thence he goes on to enumerate all the injuries pretended to be done them by the

casione, & rapienda incre- Non enim quæri, an camenta virium: ne si illis pienda fint arma, sed utrum occupatis quieverint, mox sua potius occasione an il-adversus vacuos & quietos lorum.

(a) Utendum igitur oc- majus negotium habeant.

Romans,

perpes.

Romans, and which, in his fense, were equivalent to a declaration of war: Phrygia and Paphlagonia taken from him by them; and Cappadocia, which he had conquered, and from which they had expelled his fon. "They (a) have torn from me my conquest, fays he, they who have nothing, not acquired by arms." He concludes this detail with the infults done him in the last place by Nicomedes,, in fo attacking him out of wantonness, and " For, (b) adds he, it is not the without cause. " pretended injuries Kings have done them, it is their strength and majesty they aim at. It is hence they oppressed Eumenes, dethroned his fon Aristonicus, and made an "implacable (c) war on the grandson of the great King Masinissa, the unfortunate Jugurtha, in whom they shewed so little respect for the memory of his grandsather, that they ignominiously exhibited him as a fight in their triumph, and afterwards made him perish miserably in a prison. Such is the hatred they have declared for all Kings,

(a) Raptam fibi esse victoriam ejus [Cappadociæ] ab illis quorum nihil est nisi bello quæsitum.

(b) Quippe non delicta Regum illos, fed vires ac

majestatem insequi.

(c) Cum hujus [Masinisfæ] nepote bellum modo in
Africa gestum adeò inexpiabile, ut ne victum quidem
memoriæ avi donarent, quin
carcerem ac triumphi speciaculum experiretur. Hanc illos Regibus omnibus legem
odiorum dixisse, scilicet quia

ipfi tales Reges habuerint, quorum etiam nominibus erubescant, aut pastores Aboriginum, aut haruspices Sabinorum, aut exules Corinthiorum, aut servos vernasque Tuscorum, aut, quod honoratissimum nomen fuit inter hæc, superbos. Atque ut ipfi ferunt conditores suos lupæ uberibus alitos, fic omnem illum populum luporum animos, inexplebiles fanguinis atque imperii, divitiarumque avidos ac jejunos, habere.

Vol. X.

G

" undoubt-

lus. 2. Numa

3. Tarqui

nius Prif-

Tullius.

nius Superbus.

5. Tarqui-

" undoubtedly because themselves had only "Kings, whose names made them blush,

1. Romu " 1 Aboriginal Shepherds, 2 Sabine Augurs, 3 Corinthian Exiles, 4 Tufcan Slaves, or " laftly, 5 the Superbs, the most honourable

" and diffinguished name of them all. They have reason to relate with pleasure, that their

4. Servius " founders were fuckled by a wolf; for that

" People are a People of wolves, infatiable of blood and flaughter, and always greedy

" to excess of riches and empire."

To this odious picture which he gave of the Romans, Mithridates opposed a magnificent display of his own high nobility, which on his father's fide he traced back to Cyrus and Darius: and by the female line, to * Seleucus Nicator, Founder of the Kingdom of Syria and Alexander the Great: of the greatness of the nations subject to him, who had never experienced the yoke of a foreign power; and his exploits against unconquerable States, as the Scythians, who before him had never known a victor.

And lastly, he stattered his foldiers with the hopes of the rich spoils of Asia, of which (a) he extolled the mildness of the climate, the fertility of the foil, the multitude and beauty of the cities, " infomuch, faid he, that I lead you less to a war, than to a perpetual festival; and in respect to this enterprize, you

Mitbridates's greatgrandmother was the daughter of Seleucus Callinicus King of Syria.

(a) Nam neque cœlo Afiæ effe temperatius aliud, nec

New York Control of

folo fertilius, nec urbium, multitudine amœnius: magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam, sed ut festum diem acturos, bello dubium facili magis an uberi.

can have only one doubt, whether it be

most easy, or most advantageous."

This discourse, which breathes hatred and All Asia contempt for the Romans, and at the fame Minor fubsime affurance of conquering, was not an mis to Miempty rhodomontade of Mithridates: the ef- Appian. feets proved it the teverfe. All either gave way before his arms, or courted his alliance. He subjected Phrygia, Mysia, Asia, properly fo called, Lycia, Pamphylia, the coast of Ionia, in a word, all the country extending quite to the fea-coaft : and, in order that nothing might be wanting to his glory, two Roman Generals fell into his hands, and became his prifoners.

I have faid before, that Oppius had retired He takes to Laodicea. To make himself master of that Oppius the Roman's person, it cost Mithridates only the Roman General trouble of fending an Herald to promise the prisoner. inhabitants impunity, if they would deliver up Oppius. He was immediately feized, and carried with his lictors to the King of Pontus, who inflicted no ill treatment upon him, but carried him about every where in his train, exhibiting with pride, and in derision of the Roman greatness, a Roman General in captivity.

Aquillius was not fo gently used. As he was And then at the head of the commission, and the principal Aquillius, author of the war, Mithridates had a personal whom he hatred for him. For that reason that unfortunate rageously, General, who was fick at Mitylene, having and inflicts been delivered up to him by the (a) Lesbians, a cruel puthere was no kind of indignity nor outrage, nishment upon bim.

Island itself, which is now (1) Mitylene was the capital of the Island of Lifbos, and called Metelin. Las given its name to the

13.

Plin:

that the King of Pontus did not make him fuffer. He was laden with chains, whipped with rods, led about every where upon an afs, and in that condition forced to make himself known to all that faw him, and to cry out Athen, v. from time to time, that he was Aquillius. On other occasions, fastened by a chain to a Bastarnian five cubits high, he was obliged to follow that Barbarian's horse on foot. And xxxiii. 3. lastly, Mithridates having carried him to Pergamus, caused melted gold to be poured into his mouth, to reproach his avidity, and that of the Romans in general. Thus did that infatiable man pay the price of his oppressions and injustices, and seemed to have been preferved from the feverity of the Judges, by the eloquence of Antonius, only to fuffer greater and

Appian.

Mithridates visited his new conquest, and was received every where with the most foothing acclamations. The Ephelians diftinguished themselves above the rest by singular marks of their hatred for the Romans, as we shall fay below; for which they were foon after feverely punished.

more fevere punishments.

He marries Monima.

It was in this progress, that Mithridates having taken Stratonicea, faw the virtuous Monima, whom the Euripides of France has rendered fo famous by his Tragedy. Ambition did not fo wholly engrofs the heart of that Prince, as to exclude love. Struck with Monima's beauty, he fent her (a) fifteen thousand pieces of gold, expecting by that unworthy gratuity to triumph over her virtue. But she

Plut. in Lucull.

⁽a) Above two hundred and thirty-four pounds of gold Aveirdupoise.

refused his present, and rejected all his follicita. tions. Mithridates was reduced to marry her in the most solemn manner, and to give her the

title of Queen, with the diadem.

When the news of what passed in Asia came The Senate to Rome, they did not deliberate a moment on and People the measures it was necessary to take. The war of Rome was resolved, notwithstanding the extreme di- declare stress of the Commonwealth on the occasion gainst bim. of the revolt of the Italian States, which was Appian. not yet well appealed. Sylla, as we have faid, A. R. 663. was charged with the war against Mithridates. But, whilft the civil discords detained that General in Italy, Mithridates had full time, both to extend his conquests, and deluge Asia with Roman blood.

For it was at this time that he committed He causes that horrid massacre, which will render his 80000 Roname detestable for ever: he fent orders to all mans to be the Governors of provinces and cities subject massacred in one day. to him, that on a certain day fixed, which was to be the same universally, they should put all the Romans and Italians in Asia to the sword, men, women, children, and freedmen. fame decree ordered, that their bodies should not have burial; that their estates should be divided between those who should kill them and the King; and that fuch as should endeavour to conceal or inter them, should be fined; and on the contrary, rewards granted to fuch as should discover them, liberty to slaves, half their debts to debtors, and fo on to others.

The manner in which this bloody order was executed, proves, as Appian observes, that the revolt of Asia was less the effect of the fear of the arms of Mithridates, than of hatred G 3

The Afiatics applied themfor the Romans. felves in murdering them with incredible fury and barbarity. They were torn out of the most facred asylums: the hands of such as embraced the statues were cut off; the children were killed before their mothers faces. and they themselves massacred with their hufbands. And this cruelty was universal. Of all

Tac. IV. Ann. 14.

those who acknowledged Mithridates, only the people of the fmall Island of Cos spared the unhappy Romans, and permitted them to take

In this flaughter perished fourfcore thousand

refuge in the temple of Æsculapius.

Rutilius escapes.

Cic. pro

Rabir.

Poft. n. 17.

Some however escaped or disguised themselves, and amongst the rest, the samous Rutilius, who was then at Smyrna, in banishment, as we have related elsewhere. He quitted the Roman robe, and put on a Grecian habit: and that disguise, and perhaps the respect he had acquired by the integrity of his manners, faved his life in so imminent a

danger.

Horrid calumny of Theophanes against Rutilius. Plut in Pomp.

The regard for virtue does not admit us to pass over in silence the atrocious calumny, with which a mercenary writer had endeavoured to blacken the reputation of that irreproachable Theophanes, who was attached to Pompey, had advanced, that it was by the counfel of Rutilius, Mithridates had formed the defign of the bloody maffacre, of which we are speak-He was for revenging in that manner the memory of his Patron's * Father, of whom Rutilius in his Memoirs had faid abundance of ill with too good foundation. But by that

^{*} Pompeius Strabo. See what is faid of him in the preceding book.

fenseless imputation Theophanes gained nothing but the reputation of a calumniator and of a venal pen, without hurting so unblemished a virtue as that he attacked, and without lessening the ignominy of the person he intended to revenge.

The cruelties of the Afiatics to the Romans Appian, did not long remain unpunished. Mithridates himself soon gave them cause to repent it, by the violent tyranny he exerted overthem. And Sylla afterwards, when victorious, treated them so as to teach them, that the Romans were to be respected even in their greatest disgraces.

Amongst all the cities, whether of the Terra The Rho-Firma, or the Islands of Asia, only two condians continued faithful to the Romans, Magnesia and nue faithful to the Rhodes. Few circumstances relating to the Romans. If the are come down to us. But we are more obliged to History in respect to Rhodes, famous in all times, both for talents and virtues, till the slavery, in which it has groaned during more than the two last centuries under the Turks, deprived it of the means of sustaining its ancient glory. On the present occasion, the island and city of Rhodes served as an asylum for a great number of Romans, and amongst the rest for L. Cassius, Proconful of Asia.

Mithridates, not to leave his conquest im-Mithridapersect, resolved to reduce that small State by tes besieges
force, which was almost the only one that reRhodes in
fisted him. He came at first to the isle of is obliged
Cos, not far from Rhodes. And, as his ap to raise the
proach did not render the Rhodians more dofiege.
cile to his will, he ordered his fleet to repair
thither, which was very numerous. The Rhodians came out to meet it with courage: but
the inequality of number was so great, that

all

all that ability, aided by valour, could do, was to prevent the Rhodian fleet from being furrounded. It entered the port, which care was taken to flut up with chains: and the Rhodians, who by way of precaution had destroyed their suburbs, to prevent the enemy from making lodgments in them, prepared to repel the

attacks of Mithridates from their walls.

That Prince had not yet his land forces with him, and his naval ones, whom he landed, having always been worsted in the skirmishes, that had paffed around the city, the befieged refumed courage, keeping their ships always in readiness to fall upon the enemy, when occasion should offer. In consequence a sea-fight ensued, in which the Rhodians had all the advantage, notwithstanding their inferior number. In the mean time the land troops of Mithridates arrived, in transports of different burthen: and as they were forced by the violence of the wind to pass in fight of the city, instead of anchoring at the place affigned them, the befieged made their fleet go out of the port; and taking advantage of the diforder occasioned both by the storm and the difficulty of landing, they took, funk, and burnt some of the enemy's ships, and returned victorious. Mithridates having then all his forces, both of fea and land, gave affaults, and attempted furprize, but without effect. He was reduced to raife the fiege; and the Rhodians, besides the glory of being faithful to their Allies, had also that of having been the first in stopping the torrent, which had spread over all Asia.

Cic II. in In my opinion, they also deserved praises Verr. 159 for their moderation in respect to the statue of Mithridates, which they suffered to keep its place place in the midst of their city, whilst that Prince was attacking them with the utmost violence, and they found no small difficulty in making their defence. Cicero, from whom we have this fact, observes, that this conduct of the Rhodians feems inconfiftent, and that it was not natural to make war with the person, and spare the statue. But the Rhodians themselves, to whom he made that objection, answered him in the first place, that it was a received opinion with all the Greeks, that Religion did not admit the throwing down of statues once erected, even of men. They added a fecond reflection, no less just; that they had * made a distinction of times; that they had undoubtedly a right to repel Mithridates, when become their enemy; but that respect ought to be had to a statue erected at a time, when that Prince was the friend of their Commonwealth.

During this fiege, two circumftances give us Two rea occasion to remark in Mithridates a disposition markable to revenge, and gratitude for fervices rendered circum-In the sea fight we have mentioned, flances of whilft Mithridates made his ship move some- ter of Mitimes to one place, and fometimes to another, thridates to encourage his people, or give them aid, a vessel of his fleet, belonging to the Isle of Chio, without doubt by the unskilfulness of the navigators, ran foul of his, and put it in some danger; the King, in a rage, caused the pilot and mate to be hanged, and afterwards extended his wrath to the whole Isle of Chio, as we shall say in its place. This rigour is un-

· Cum statua se ejus ha- verò, quo bellum gereret at-

buisse rationem temporis quo que hostis esset. posita esset; cum homine

V. 2.

doubtedly to be condemned. But we cannot forbear praising him much for what he did in Val. Max. respect to Laonicus, a faithful subject, who had testified great zeal for his Prince on dangerous occasions, This Laonicus having been taken prisoner during the siege, Mithridates, to obtain only his liberty, restored all the Rhodian

prisoners in his camp.

Meafures taken by Mithridates for war, and invading Greece. Appian.

When he had been reduced to abandon his enterprize against Rhodes, he retired to Pergamus, leaving Pelopidas in Lycia with an pushing the army to reduce the city of Patara, and some others, in those parts, that refused to submit to During his residence at Pergamus, divided between bufiness and pleasures, though the charms of Monima engroffed much of his time, he however took care to augment his troops, to lay up all kinds of provisions and ammunitions, and above all, to provide for the fecurity of his conquests within them, by rewarding his friends and adherents, and diftributing treasures, cities, and states amongst them; by removing domestic enemies; by suppreffing conspiracies formed against his person; and by making a strict enquiry after all those who retained any attachment for the Romans, and whom he confidered for that reason as capable of plotting in their favour, and against the new government.

At the same time he spared no pains for augmenting his power, his avidity increasing according to the natural character of the human mind, in proportion to his acquifitions. Mafter of Asia, he formed the design of invading Greece. However he did not go thither in person. Pergamus was a centre to him, from which he governed all his vast monarchy, and

directed

Plut. in Sylla.

directed his new enterprizes. One of his fons by his order resided in the ancient dominions of his ancestors. Another was sent into Thrace and Macedonia with an army: and feveral of his Generals, of whom the principal was Archelaus, went by sea to Greece, and began by reducing the Cyclades, the island of Euboea, and all the other illes in those seas, as far as the Promontory of Malea. The city of Athens itfelf submitted to Mithridates; and that Prince was indebted for so important a conquest to a

miserable Sophist, called Aristion.

This man of obscure birth, the son, as was History of faid, of a female slave, and admitted by fa- Aristion, your into the number of the citizens of Athens, who makes was one of those kind of persons born to im- Mitbridgpose upon the multitude by a pompous outside, tes master a popular and emphatical eloquence, and a dar- of Athens. ing prefumption, which never fails of dazzling apud the vulgar. He had taken care to embellish his Athen. talents, and to cover his vices with the mask of V.13. Philosophy. Every body knows the credit and figure annexed to the name of Philosopher in Athens. Some fay he had been formed in the school of Aristotle; others in that of Epicurus. However that were, he was deputed by the Athenians to Mithridates, who, finding him a proper instrument for his designs, gave him the most favourable reception, with the view of conciliating, by his means, the affection of those that fent him.

Ariftion feconded the King's views to a wonder, writing letters to Athens, in which he extolled the power of Mithridates, his magnificence and liberality. And as the Athenians had given the Romans some subject of discontent, which is not related in History, but which

which must have been great, as a fine had been laid upon them, and their magistrates forbade to exercise their functions. Aristion promised the Athenians, that if they would embrace the King's party, they would not only be exempt from the fine laid on them by the Romans, but the popular government should be re-established, and all the citizens in particular should derive infinite advantages from the alliance of so powerful and generous a Prince. Nothing more was wanting to turn the heads of the People of Athens, always unsteady, capricious and inconstant: and the most prudent, and principal citizens wisely chose to quit a city, that was bent upon destruction, and retire to Rome.

Cic. in Brut, n. 306,

Appian.

Posidon.

In the mean time Mithridates fent his fleets to Greece: and the island and temple of Delos, which, till then, without walls and arms, had found an affured defence in the respect for Religion alone, having been plundered by Metrophanes, one of the King's Generals, Aristion, with those facred treasures, and an efcort of two thousand men given him by Archelaus, returned to Athens. The follies committed by the People for the reception of this illustrious personage are incredible. As he had been driven by a tempest on the coast of Carystos in Eubœa, ships of war were sent to convoy him, and also a chair, or kind of throne, supported by feet of filver. When he arrived, the whole city ran out to meet him. Particularly those consecrated to the worship of Bacchus did not fail to pay all kinds of honours to the Ambassador of the new Bacchus. (We have faid above, that name had been given to Mithridates.) Nothing passed but acclamations, rions, facrifices, and libations, to which the People were invited by the voice of an Herald, as in the most joyous and facred ceremonies.

Aristion having taken up his lodgings in one of the finest houses of the city, appeared the next day in publick, in a superb habit, and with a ring, on which was engraved the image of Mithridates. The throng was as great as on the preceding day: People were crushed to death in the streets, especially near him, tho' he was furrounded with armed men, who by office, and to please the multitude, were appointed as his guards, and attended him every where. With this equipage he ascended the Tribunal, from which the Roman Magistrates used to harangue the People of Athens; and he made a speech full of boasts, excessive praises of Mithridates, and wild presages of the future exploits of that Prince, which were to annihilate the Romans; and concluded with exhorting the multitude to give a certain form to their government, that the Roman Senate was for abolish-These last words were only a snare. The ambitious Sophist's aim was, to cause the Sovereign power in Athens to be confered on him. The People were catched by it, and did not fail to proclaim Aristion Prætor. He immediately made them sensible of what they were to expect from his government. For, after having thanked them for the honour they had done him, he added: " As you have elected me your " Chief, it is but just that I should have as " much power alone, as you have collective-'ly." And in order to take inftant possession of his office, he himself appointed the Collegues he thought fit to have.

The rest of his conduct was of a piece with this beginning, and became a tyranny in all the forms. The richeft, and most worthy perfons, as never fails to happen on the like occafions, were the most exposed to violence. He charged them with being the fecret adherents of the Romans; and under that pretext, put fome of them to death, and fent others to Mithridates. To be accused and condemned, were one and the fame thing. For, that they might not escape him, he made himself their judge. Many, to fave themselves from persecution, fled from the city. But he caused them to be purfued; and fuch as were taken, were put to death in torments. He posted guards at the gates of the city, to prevent any one from going out without his leave. In a word, the milerable Athenians were a kind of prisoners in their own houses, in which they were obliged to shut themselves up at sun-set, without permission to depart after that time, even with a torch. It is easy to suppose, that in the midst of these violences, he did not forget to inrich himself. Confiscations of estates, and rapine of every kind, raised him such great sums, that it was faid he filled whole wells with money.

This tyranny, exercised by one who called himself a Philosopher, restects no great honour on Philosophy: and Appian on the occasion of Aristion, mentions here the thirty tyrants of Athens so famous in History, of whom several were the disciples of Socrates. But Philosophy is not accountable for the crimes of those who make profession of it: the best things are abused; and it would be unjust to ascribe the vices of persons to a discipline innocent and use-

ful in itself.

Thus, by the ministration of Aristion, Mithridates became mafter of Athens: and Archelaus made it a kind of place of arms, from whence, extending his influence on all fides, he Plut. in feparated Lacedæmon, Achaia, Bæotia, and Sylla & feveral other States of Greece from the Ro-Appian. mans, and drew them over to the King's party. At the same time Metrophanes, another of Mithridates's Generals, who kept the fea with a fleet, attempted a descent in Thessaly, on the side of Demetrias. And when we remember, that Mithridates had another land army, deffined to enter Thrace and Macedonia, we shall conceive that the enterprize was exceedingly well conducted on his side, and that Greece, attacked at so many parts, might easily be taken from the Romans.

Sylla had not yet time to arrive. But Brut- Brutius tius Sura, detached with a body of troops by sura flops C. Sentius, Proconful of Macedonia, came to of Mithrithe aid of Greece. He was a very brave man, dates's and a good foldier. He began by driving Me-Generals. trophanes out of Theffaly, and obliged him to remove from the coast. From thence he moved to Bæotia, where, having found Archelaus with Aristion near Chæronea, he gave them battle three days together: and if he did not entirely defeat them, he at least prevented them from making any progress. Things were in this State, when Lucullus, Sylla's Quæstor, came and informed him, that he must quit a province which did not belong to him, and which had been given to Sylla by the Senate. Bruttius did not hesitate a moment; and no less faithful in his obedience to the laws of his country, than full of valour on military occasions, he retired into Macedonia, and rejoined his General.

SECT.

SECT. IL.

Sylla goes to Greece. Supposed omen of the bad success of Mitbridates. Sylla forms the siege of Athens. He plunders the temples of Olympia, Epidaurus, and Delphi. Comparison between the conduct of Sylla and that of the ancient Roman Generals. Invectives of the Athenians against Sylla and his wife. Vigorous defence of Archelaus. Famine in Athens. Aristion regards nothing but divesting himself, and will bearken to no terms of surrendering. The city is taken by force. Sylla is resolved at first to demolish it, but suffers himself to be distinated. Aristion is taken in the citadel, and put to death. The Piræeus is taken and burnt. Sylla marches against the Generals of Mitbridates, Battle of Chæronea. New army sent by Mitbridates into Greece. It is defeated before Orchomenus, Lucullus assembles a fleet, and enters the Ægean Sea. The Tetrarchs of the Gallo-Gracians put to death by order of Mithridates. The Isle of Chio treated cruelly. Revolt of several cities of Asia, and new cruelties of Mitbridates. Negociation opened by Archelaus, at an interview with Sylla. Flaccus lands in Greece. His character, Misunderand that of Fimbria his Lieutenant. standing between Flaccus and Fimbria, and murder of Flaccus. Sylla advances towards the Hellespont. Suspicion conceived of Archelaus. Answer of Mitbridates. Haughtiness of Sylla. Fimbria reduces Mitbridates to extreme danger. Mithridates resolves to conclude a peace with Sylla. Their interview, Sylla justifies bimself to bis army for baving made peace with Mithridates. He pursues Fimbria, and reduces bim to kill bim-

Himself. Dispositions of Sylla after the victory. He gives his soldiers great licence. He lays a fine of twenty thousand talents upon Asia. The Pirates ravage the coasts of Asia. Preference given by Sylla of the war with Mithridates to his personal interests. He prepares to return to Senson received the sensor of the Italy. Profession troops, els preschoil ediffici

CN. OCTAVIUS A. R. 665. L. Cornelius Cinna, Ant. C. 87.

OYLLA had fet out from Italy about the be- Sylla goes ginning of the Confulship of Cinna and to Greece. Octavius. He carried with him only five Le-Appian. gions with some other troops in no great num- Sylla. ber. For the expences of fo great a war only nine thousand pounds in weight of gold had been given him, amounting to about one hundred and twelve thousand four hundred and ninety-fix ounces of our weight. In order to raise him that sum, it had even been necessary to fell fome ground and buildings confecrated by Numa to the worthip of the gods, and to the support of Priests and Sacrifices.

It is faid, that at the time Sylla fet out from Supposed Italy, Mithridates, who was then at Pergamus, omen of the had very finister omens: amongst others, that bad success a victory, which was to be let down by ma- of Mithrichines to place a crown upon the head of that Prince, when it was very near him, fell, and that the crown rolled along the Theatre and broke to pieces. This accident, which had nothing that was not very natural in it, and which only proved the Artist's want of skill, was confidered as a fatal omen, which made the whole Affembly tremble, and daunted Mithridates himself. As for us, let us content ourselves VOL. X.

A. R. 665 with observing from this little event, in what manner a thing conceived with refinement of flattery to gratify the King of Pontus's vanity,

ferved only to affect and mortify him.

Sylla forms the siege of Athens.

Sylla foon gave him different causes for difquiet. As foon as he arrived in Greece, where he received some reinforcements of Ætolian and Theffalian troops, he marched directly towards Athens, refolving to beliege and take that important place from Mithridates. This was no easy enterprize. The city of Athens was strong, besides which it had its Port, the famous Piræus, that was a separate place very well fortified. The city and port were joined by a double wall which fecured their communication. These walls and port were the work of Pericles. Sylla had therefore two fieges to carry on at once, and to attack at the same time two places well fortified and defended by numerous garrisons. The Piræus in particular threatened a vigorous relistance. For Archelaus, the most able of the Generals of Mithridates, had thut himself up in it: Aristion commanded in the city. Sylla was not discouraged by fo many difficulties. He attacked the Piræus in person, and at the same time made part of his army beliege the city. Plutarch fays, that he might have contented himself with blocking up the city, and that he might certainly have taken it by famine. But the news, which he received from Rome and Italy, where all things were in confusion, and his party were crushed, obliged him to make haste: and notwithstanding all his efforts, the fiege was spun out to a great length.

He at first attempted scaling, though the walls of the Piræus were forty cubits [ten fathom]

fathom] high. But that method not fucceed- A. R. 665. ing, he was obliged to have recourse to works and machines. Every thing was employed; rams, towers, covered galleries, terraffes raifed against the walls, mines, counter-mines, and catapultas, that discharged great stones, and pieces of lead. He found upon the fpot most of the materials necessary in the construction and reparation of those works, having beat down the walls of communication between the Piraus and the city, and out down all the trees of the Academy and Lycaeum. As to other provisions, ten thousand carriages drawn by mules, were continually passing between Thebes and Athens with them. Immense fums He plunwere necessary for supporting such prodigious ders the expences. Sylla made no difficulty to plunder temples of Olympia, the most facred Temples of Greece, and caused Epidaurus, the richest and most magnificent presents confe- and Delphi. crated to Jupiter and Æsculapius, to be brought to him from Olympia and Epidaurus.

He wrote also to the *Amphictyones at Delphi, that it was proper to fend him the treasures of the god. " For, faid he, either I shall " keep them, and they will be fafer in my " hands than in the temple, or, if I am obliged " to use them, I shall at least restore the value." He charged with the execution of these orders a Greek, called Caphis, in whom he reposed confidence; and commanded him to bring every thing away, taking each piece by weight. Caphis went to Delphi, highly afflicted with his commission, and deplored with the Amphic-

H 2

tyones

^{*} Concerning the Amphiciyones, See the Ancient Hiftory, Vol. W. towards the end.

A. R. 665. tyones the fad necessity, to which he was re-Ant, C. 87. duced. He even took advantage of a report which was fpread, that the found of the god's lyre had been heard, which was in the fanctuary: and whether he believed this pretended prodigy, which, if real, might have been a stratagem of the Priest's, or was in hopes of giving Sylla fome scruples of conscience, he wrote him the fact. Sylla only laughed at it, and answered, "that playing upon the lyre was " a fign of joy, and not of discontent; and " confequently, that he might take every thing " with confidence, as the god himself seemed to " bestow his treasures with pleasure." It was therefore necessary to obey, and fend to the Roman camp all the riches of the temple of Delphi. Precautions however were taken to prevent the affair from making too much noise. But it was not possible to conceal the taking away of a ton of money, which was fo large and heavy, that, to remove it, there was a necessity for taking it to pieces. Sylla received these treasures with great joy; and so far from Dio apud having any remorfe on that head, he faid, by way of jest, " that he could not doubt being " victorious, as the gods themselves paid his

" troops." Compari-Sylla's conduct and antient Roman Generals.

Valef.

The Amphictyones, on the contrary, who fon between had been obliged to have a part in so odious a robbery, called to mind, fays Plutarch, the that of the ancient Roman Generals, Flamininus, Acilius Glabrio, Paulus Æmilius, who, when they came to Greece, to make war upon the Kings of Macedonia and Syria, far from plundering the temples, had inriched them with new offerings, the proofs of their religious veneration. But, adds 1700053

adds the (a) Historian, those Generals of the A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87. ancient times, who commanded, with virtue and legal authority, armies composed of men accustomed to live with frugality, and to obey their just commanders with submission; and who besides were as simple in their expences, as noble and magnanimous by the elevation of their fentiments, made only fuch moderate use of money, as real occasions directed: and they would have thought it more shameful for them to flatter their foldiers, than to fear the enemy. In Sylla's time things were much changed. The Generals, who had no thoughts but of carrying the first rank by force, and not of raising themfelves to it by merit, and standing more in need of arms against each other, than against the enemies of the State, were reduced to make their court to the troops, instead of commanding them with authority; and purchasing their fervice by donations that favoured their pleafures, they fet to fale, and rendered venal, perhaps without thinking of it, the whole Commonwealth; making themselves the slaves of the meanest citizens, in order to domineer over those who deserved the most esteem. This disorder was the fource of all the evils that afflicted Rome in these unhappy times; and Sylla ought

(a) AAA izeros pir, arδρών το σωφρόνων εξ μεμαθηκό-דשו סושה דסוֹב מֹנְצִשׁסוֹ שמף בֹּχου τας χείζας, ηγέμενοι κατά ρόμον, αυτοί τε ταις ψυχαίς **Caσιλικοί** και ταϊς δαπάναις ευτελείς όντες, μετρίοις έχρωνο και τεταγμένοις αναλώμασι, το κολακούου τές τρατιώτας מומנוסי המצועונוסו דצ לולוניםו דשיב σολεμίως. Οἱ δὲ τότε ςρα-τηγοὶ, βία τὸ πρωτείου κὰ ἐκ

वहस्त्र भीव्यास्त्राता, में मूळ्रेरेका दंता άλληλες δεόμενος των όπλων ח באו דשק הסאבונושק, חומץ ממלסולם לחעמץשישו בי דש דף בדחץשי, είθ ων είς τας ηδυπαθείας τοις seατουομένοις ανήλισχον, ωνώμενοι τες πόνες αυτών, έλαθον ώνιον όλω την σατρίδα σοιήσαν-דני, ומטדשי דנ לשאשי דמי צמצו-בשי, באו דש דשי אנאדוטישו מפצפוי. Plut.

Ant, C. 87.

A. R. 665 to be confidered as the person that contributed most to it: for it was his constant maxime to give with profusion to his troops, in order to ingratiate himself with, and bring over, those of his rivals. Thus corrupting the foldiers of the contrary party, of whom he made traitors, and his own troops by voluptuousness, he required immense sums of money for effecting his

> On the present occasion it was the defire of taking Athens, that made him lofe all regard

defigns.

for facred things. For this defire in him rofe even to great paffion: and to the public reasons were added, the motive of perfonal refentment and revenge; because Aristion, whose soul was made up of cruelty and infolence, caufer him to be infulted from the walls by the most cutting invectives. Sylla was of an high colour, and spotted with a deep red in several parts of his face, which the Raillyers of Athens compared to a mulberry fprinkled with meal. They did not spare even his wife Metella, who was actually in his camp, a Lady entirely worthy of respect, both for her birth and virtue; and the was to much effected, that Sylla having married her when he was just elected Conful, the People, who had judged him worthy of the first office of the Commonwealth, believed him scarce worthy of being Metella's husband. And Sylla in effect had always the highest regard for her; nor could the Atheni-

Investives of the Athenians against Sylla and bis wife.

Vigorous

infulting his wife.

In this manner the Athenians fought: tridefence of fling discourse and shallow pleasantries were Archelaus their usual arms. But Archelaus defended the Piræus with vigour. As he had a great num-

ans offend him in a more tender point, than by

ber

ber of troops, and even more than Sylla, who A. R. 665. besieged him, he made frequent sallies with great bodies, that became almost pitched battles. On one of these occasions, the besieged having burnt one of the covered galleries of the Romans, and all the machines under it, Sylla puhished the cohorts and centurions, that guarded it, feverely, and laid an ignominious penalty upon them, which was to continue till they had attended their differace by fome action of valour. It was not long before that happened: and in another fally the fame troops having done wonders, and repulfed the enemy when almost victorious, they were reinstated in all their rights. Archelaus in this last action gave proofs of his bravery, perhaps beyond what fuited the Governor of a belieged place. He not only came out with his troops, but feeing them pressed, and upon the point of flying, he endeavoured to revive their courage, and led them on again to battle,

what gave Archelaus a great advantage for holding out, was, that he had the fea open, and confequently could receive provisions, ammunition, and fresh troops as often as he had occasion. Sylla, to deprive him of that resource, dispatched Lucullus, with orders to go to the Kings and States in the alliance of Rome, to demand ships, and assemble a steet. Lucullus met with many obstacles and delays; and before he could execute his commission, Sylla had time to compleat his enterprize.

and perfitted fo obstinately in that design, that the gates of the place being shut, whilst he continued without, it was necessary to draw him

During the whole course of the siege, he had often received very good and useful intelligence

H 3

from

A. R. 665. from the Piræus. Two flaves, who were flut up Ant, C. 87. in the place, no doubt in hopes of a great reward, wrote upon balls of lead all that they could collect of the defigns formed by the befieged, and then threw those balls with flings into the camp of the Romans. Sylla more than once made use of these informations, and particularly to prevent Archelaus from fending

Atbens.

Famine in convoys into the city, where the famine was excessive. A measure of wheat, containing little more than four bushels, was fold for a thousand drachma's (about twenty-five pounds). Many were reduced to gather the herbage, that grew about the walls, or to boil leather and shoes in water for a miserable subsistence. There were even fome, who supported themfelves upon human flesh, and ate the dead bodies, with which the city abounded.

Arifionregards nothing but diverting bim/elf. and will furrendering.

But what aggravated the fense of the publick calamities to excess, was, that whilft the citizens were perishing with famine, the tyrant Aristion feafted, and passed whole days in drinking, taking his pleafure, and diverting himfelf with bearken to his inmates. For four days he caused a chanix no terms of of barley to be distributed to each citizen, that is a measure which scarce exceeds the tenth part of a bushel, a nourishment hardly sufficient for poultry; and the Priestess of Minerva having asked of him a very small measure of wheat, he fent her some pepper: However, he would not hear a word of putting an end to fo horrible a calamity, by furrendering to the Romans; and the Priests and Senators having come to him to beg, that he would take compassion on the city, and ask to capitulate, he ordered them to be fired upon. At length he resolved to depute two or three of his loose companions

companions to Sylla, who, half drunk, instead A. R. 665. of discourse suitable to the conjuncture, amused themselves with boasting the glory of Athens, and with citing Theseus, Codrus, and the trophies of Marathon and Salamina. The Roman General heard them with the utmost contempt:

Go, replied he, you happy and glorious mortals; repeat all this fine talk in your schools. As to me, I did not come bither to learn your History, but to reduce rebels.

In this manner did the miserable Aristion The city is compleat the ills he had brought upon Athens, taken by by reducing that unfortunate city to be taken form. by force. For some old men of the city, in talking about the present state of affairs, and observing, that the tyrant was extremely weak in not carefully guarding a certain place, where the enemy might enter with eafe, their discourse was catched up by spies, and related to the Roman General, who did not neglect the information. He went himself to examine the place mentioned, and having found it to be really very weak, he caused it to be attacked in the night, and carried it. When his troops were got into the place, he caused a great length of the wall, between two gates, to be demolished, and then marched in with all his troops in order of battle, with the found of trumpets and the other instruments of war. The city was abandoned to be plundered, and to all the fury of the troops. The flaughter was fo great, that it was computed, not by the number of the dead, but the ground overflowed with blood, which was still shewn in Plutarch's time. And beside those, who perished by the fword of the conquerors, there were many who killed themselves to avoid surviving their country,

A.R. 669 tountry, which they did not doubt, but Sylla would order to be deftroyed. Athens was taken on the first of March, of the year in which Marius having made himfelf Conful for the fea venth time, at the end of seventeen days was succeeded by L. Valerius Flaccus.

A. R. 666. Ant. C. 86. C. MARIUS VII. and after his death L. VALERIUS FLACCUS. L. CORNELIUS CINNA II.

Sylla 13 firft to demolish it, but Suffers bimfelf to be diffwaded.

Sylla, who was naturally excessive in his resolved at anger and revenge, was but too much inclined to demolish Athens. But some of the most illustrious Athenians, whom their fidelity for the Romans had reduced to banish themselves, throwing themselves at his feet, and conjuring him with tears to take compassion upon their unfortunate country, and all the Roman Senators, who were in his camp, joining with them in their request, he suffered himself to be prevailed upon; and after having praised the ancient Athenians, he concluded with faving, "That he pardoned a great number of enemies " in regard to a small number of faithful " allies, and the living in regard to the dead." The flaves were fold: the citizens had not only their lives spared, but the liberty of their perfons. Sylla afterwards was well pleafed with having acted with elemency in respect to so famous a city; and he confidered his having been mafter of his passion on this occasion amongst the peculiar favours of the gods. misfortunes of Athens concluded in effect with the fiege: but it was with great difficulty that the raised her head after so rude a blow, and fhe

Plut. Apoph. Rom.

the did not recover her ancient splendor till A. R. 666.

long after.

Aristion had rightly conceived that he had Aristion is no favour to hope; and as foon as he faw the raken in city taken he retired into the citadel. It was the citadel, necessary to befiege him there: but at length and put to the want of water and provisions having forced Plut. in him to furrender, he received the just reward Sylla & of his crimes, and was put to death, with all Appian. those who had been the instruments of his

tyranny.

The Piræus, where Archelaus continued, The Piræus still held out. That brave commander disputed taken and the ground inch by inch, perpetually raifing burnt. new works in the place of those demolished by the enemy. This, according to Florus, he executed fix times: and it was not till after the fixth wall was taken by the Romans, whose valour augmented in proportion to difficulties. that Archelaus abandoned the Piræus, keeping however the post of Munychia upon the Sylla, who had no fleet, did not attempt to attack him there; befides which, other affairs called him elsewhere. However, before he quitted Attica, he burnt the Piræus, without sparing those so much boasted Arsenals. which were capable of containing all that was necessary for the equipment of a thousand ships. He had fo few forces, that not being able to garrison that place, it would not have been prudent to leave it in a condition to harbour the enemy again, whom he had driven out of it with fo much difficulty. As foon there- Sylla fore as he had feetired himself behind, by the marches taking of Athens, and the destruction of the against the Piracus, he marched towards Boeotia, in order of Mitbri.

A. R. 666 to meet the Generals of Mithridates, who ad-

vanced against him by forced marches.

We have faid that Mithridates had fent, under one of his fons called Arcathias, a numerous army to enter Greece by the way of Thrace and Macedonia. That army had been augmented by Thracian troops, who, under Dromichetes, a Prince of their blood royal, had joined Arcathias. This was a kind of torrent that deluged Macedonia, Epirus, and all the North of Greece. Arcathias dying of disease, Taxiles took upon him the command in his stead, and had entered Phocis, when Sylla fet out from Attica. Taxiles had with him an hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and ninety chariots armed with fcythes. The Roman army was far from being numerous: it confifted only of fixteen thousand five hundred Romans, that is, of fifteen thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred horse; and with the aid furnished by different States of Greece, it did not amount to a third of the army of Mithridates.

Accordingly Plutarch observes, that many blamed Sylla's conduct in quitting Attica, a rough country, broken with vallies and mountains, to enter the plains of Bœotia, where the enemy's forces had all the room, that was necessary, for extending themselves. But a General must have more than one object in view. In the first place, Sylla had a supreme contempt for those Barbarians, and believed himself sure of beating them every where: in the second, he could not subsist in Attica, which was barren, and shut up on the side of the sea by the sleet of Archelaus. Lastly, he wanted to meet Hortensius, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, a

brave

brave and enterprizing man, who was marching A.R. 666. from Theffaly to join him with a small reinforcement, and who might easily be surrounded by the enemy. Sylla succeeded in every thing: he joined Hortensius, and incamped advantageously upon an eminence in the midst of a fruitful plain, at the foot of which ran a rivulet.

Notwithstanding the small number of Romans, Archelaus, who had repaired to the camp of Taxiles, would not hazard a battle. His plan was, to cut off the enemy's provisions, and to reduce him by protraction. But the other Generals, flushed by the superiority of their numbers, would not hearken to fuch wife counfel; and drawing up their troops in battle, they covered the plains with men, arms, horses, and chariots. As this army was composed of many different nations, that spoke different languages, their different cries uniting together, had something terrible in them. Their very pomp and magnificence made a glitter, that was not without effect, and was capable of increasing difmay; and those glaring arms adorned with ornaments of gold and filver, the lively colours of the Median and Scythian vests, intermingled with the luftre of polished steel and brass, emitted a radiance like flashes of lightning, which joined with the various motions of fo many thousand men, dazzled the sight, and struck the mind with terror.

This object made an impression on the Romans: they closed up towards their camp, declining battle; and Sylla, who was afraid to force them in their present discouragement, was obliged to suffer the derision and insults of the Barbarians. He was much affected with

them ;

A. R. 666. them; and however, nothing proved more to Ant. C. 86. his advantage. For those troops, who were ill-disciplined, and having many commanders, obeyed none properly, grew more and more irregular, through the contempt they conceived for the Romans; and dispersing to plunder. whole bodies of them removed fometimes feveral days march from their camp, Not only the country felt these ravages, but towns were taken and plundered: and Sylla, in despair to fee an ally's country destroyed without being able to prevent it, conceived an expedient to induce his foldiers to defire a battle. He fet them at work to turn the course of the Cephifus, and to dig vast trenches, granting them neither exemption nor relaxation, and punishing such as behaved remissly with feverity, in order that through difgust for these laborious works they might prefer dangers.

And this accordingly happened; for on the third day, whilst Sylla was visiting the works, they raised a cry to demand to be led on to battle. He affected not to incline to hear them, and observed, that their cry did not argue their desire to fight, but only their desire not to work. But as they continued to press, Well, said he, if you are really for using your arms, there is a post, which it is necessary for us to occupy. In saying those words he pointed to a steep hill, advantageous for the situation of a camp, towards which Archelaus was actually moving in order to seize it. Sylla prevented him, with the afsistance of the ardor he had known how to ex-

cite in his troops.

Chæronæa, Plutarch's country, was then in great danger: for Archelaus having missed his aim, drew off directly for that city, in which

there were no troops capable of its defence. A. R. 666. A body of Chæronean troops ferved in the Roman army, whose officers, observing the danger of their country, apprized Sylla of it. He permitted them to go to the aid of it, and at the fame time detached a Tribune at the head of a legion with that defign, who executed his General's order with fuch expedition, that he arrived even before the troops of Chæronæa: and the aid was more expeditious than those who had occasion for assistance.

It was near this city that the battle was at Battle of last fought. The ground was advantageous for Charonaa. the Romans. Archelaus had quitted the plain, and was encamped in a post of difficult access, no doubt because he still intended to decline fighting. But whilft the view of placing himfelf fo as to be fecure from any attacks engroffed him, he drew two difadvantages upon himself; the first was, that in a broken country he could not make all his troops act together; and the fecond, that being entirely furrounded by precipices, if he should happen to be pushed, it was impossible for him to make a retreat, and his troops once giving way, had no room either to form themselves again, or to fall back in good order.

Sylla took the advantage of his enemy's fault; and having approached Chæronæa to call in the detachment he had fent thither, he marched directly up to the Barbarians, refolving to attack them, notwithstanding the difficulty of the places. One post occupied by the enemy, gave him pain: it was a very fleep hill, which Plutarch calls Thurium. But it is a great advantage to a General to have the People of the country, in which he makes war, on his fide.

CHIT

A. R. 666. Two Chæronæan officers informed him, that they knew a fecret way, by which they could afcend, without being perceived, to the top over the heads of the enemy; and that with a very small number of foldiers they would undertake to drive them from that post. Sylla after that affurance, drew up his army in battle, distributed the horse upon the two wings, taking upon himself the command of the right, and giving the left to Muræna. He formed a body of referve, composed of a number of chosen cohorts, under the command of Sulpicius and Hortenfius, to whom he recommended great vigilance to prevent the enemy from furrounding some part of his army, in effect of their multitude.

> In the mean time the Barbarians also drew up in order of battle, endeavouring to extend themselves beyond the Romans, and to inclose them. That instant they heard the cries, and perceived the disorder of their troops, posted upon the hill Thurium, the twoChæronæans had executed their promise with bravery and success. The enemies in their furprize had made no defence, nor thought of any thing but flight. Three thousand of them perished, either by their own spears, in falling from the precipices, or by the fwords of the victors. Of those who escaped into the plain, part were cut to pieces by Muræna, and the rest having thrown themfelves upon the line of battle, put it into confusion, and considerably retarded the operations of their Generals. Sylla perceived this, and immediately croffing the space that separated him from the enemy, he posted himself so near their front ranks, that the waggons, armed with scythes, had not the room that was necessary for their

their motion and rapidity; so that they came on A. R. 666. Ant. C. 86. Solvey, and were not capable of any effect. The Romans made a sport of repulsing them, and only laughing, called out for more with loud cries, as if they had been at a shew of chariot races in the Circus.

The infantry then engaged. The Barbarians were armed and drawn up in the Macedonian manner with long spears, and in a very deep phalanx. At the head of them the Romans found fifteen thousand slaves, made free, and armed by the order of Mithridates; so that a Centurion cried out, that they were in the Saturnalia. Every body knows, that those were festival days, during which, slaves enjoyed the privileges of liberty. Those slaves however fought better than could be expected from fuch kind of troops; and the Roman infantry would have found it difficult to break them, if a shower of arrows, discharged at a distance, had not disordered and disconcerted them.

Whilst this passed in the centre, Archelaus extended his right to furround Murena, Hortensius, who observed this movement, advanced with his referved cohorts to take that General in flank. But Archelaus having made two thousand horse, that were with him, wheel about, put Hortensius into very great danger, and was very near cutting off his communication with the rest of the army, when Sylla, who carefully watched every thing, flew to his aid. Archelaus knew who it was, and immediately changing his design, attacked the right wing of the Romans, expecting to find no great difficulty with them in their General's absence: and at the fame time Taxiles advanced against Murena. On the cries of the combatants, which VOL. X. were

A. R. 666, were heard on both fides at once, and were also multiplied by the ecchoes of the mountains, Sylla was in doubt for some time on which fide to turn. But he presently determined to resume his post, and fent Hortenfius, whom he had just disengaged, to Murena's aid. Sylla, on arriving at the right, found his troops in good order, and his presence encouraged them fo much, that they immediately put the enemy to flight. He again repaired to the left, which he also found victorious. The two wings of the Barbarians being thus routed, the centre was easily forced, and the flight became general.

> Most of them sled towards their camp, which was the only retreat they had. For, as we have observed, they were entirely surrounded with rocks and precipices. Archelaus, who had made thither with the first, perfished obstinately in the ill-timed endeavour to make them return to battle. They accordingly faced about. But being then pressed between the Romans, who purfued them, and the camp, that was closed against them; besides which, being in dismay, and diforder, and not being able to diftinguish either their commanders or enfigns, they only made ineffectual efforts, and were foon obliged to turn their backs again, and to intreat to be admitted into their camp. Archelaus caufed the gates of it to be opened; but too late. The Romans entered pellmell with them, made an horrible flaughter, took the camp, and rendered their victory compleat. Of that infinite multitude scarce ten thousand escaped to Chalcis with Archelaus: the rest either perished, or were taken prisoners. But what transcends all belief, is the little lofs fo great a victory coft the Romans. Sylla wrote in his Memoirs, that

he found only fourteen foldiers missing; and A. R. 666. that even two of them returned in the evening. Can one believe, that an hundred thousand men should saffer themselves to be put to the sword without killing more than twelve of the enemy? Should it be true, as was suspected, that Archelaus betrayed his mafter, and held intelligence with the Romans, the thing would still be improbable; and it is more natural to think, that Sylla, whose darling notion it was, to have himself considered as fortunate, has in this place been more studious of the marvellous, than of the true. And it is certain, that he was for have ing the very trophies he erected upon the field. evidence his good fortune as much as his ability: and it was for this reason, that he dedicated them not only to Mars and the goddess of Victory, but to Venus.

It was at this time, that he reimburfed the temples of Olympia and Delphi; but at the expence of the Thebans, half of whole territory he conficated to the use of Jupiter and Apollo. He had foon an occasion of gaining a fecond victory, still more glorious than the former. For Mithridates, who had made im New arms mense levies, had an army in readiness of four- sent into score thousand men, which he caused to set Greece by out under the command of Dorylaus, as foon dates. as he received advice of the defeat at Chæronea. The new General joined Archelaus at Chalcis. and they entered Boeotia together, from whence Sylla had fet out for Theffaly, in order to meet Flaccus. This Flaccus was actually Conful, having been raised to that office by Cinna. after the death of Marius, as we have faid before: and he was come to Greece with an army. under pretext of making war against Mithrida-

Ant. C. 85.

A. R. 666. tes, but in reality to make it against Sylla, The fituation, in which Sylla then found himfelf, was entirely fingular, and perhaps is the only one of the kind. He saw himself upon the point of having upon his hands at one and the same time, a Roman army, and that of Mithridates. But he never doubted either his Superiority over all the enemies that should come against him, or his good fortune: and having received advice, that Flaceus was preparing to pass the sea, he marched to meet him, and was already arrived near Melitæum, a city of Theffaly, when the news of Dorylaus's entrance into Boeotia obliged him to march back directly. He found him incamped with Archelaus before Orchomenus, in a flat open country, which gave them room to extend themselves, and to use their cavalry, in which they were much superior to the Romans.

Dorylaus was for fighting, and would not hearken to the remonstrances of Archelaus, who endeavoured to diffwade him, not even diffembling his fuspicions of a General's conduct, who at the head of an army of more than an hundred thousand men, had suffered himself to be beaten by an enemy much inferior. But when he had experienced in a flight action what the Romans were capable of doing, he changed his note, and conceived, that his Collegue's opinion was the refult of prudence. However, a numerous cavalry, and a level and spacious ground, gave great reasons to hope. But Sylla knew how to deprive them of those advantages by

the method he used for attacking them.

It is defeated before Orchomenus.

The plain of Orchomenus was bounded by marshes: Sylla undertook to draw lines here with redoubts from space to space, in order to

thut in the enemy on the fide next the marthes, A. R. 666. and deprive them of the use of the plain. Archelaus perfectly comprehended the Roman General's design, and resolved, at any price, to prevent him from compleating his works: accordingly he quitted his camp, and drew up Frontin. his troops in order of battle. Sylla also drew Stratage up his army in three lines, and ordered those, who were posted in the front of the second line. to fix strong palisades before each of them very near one another. In effect, when the enemy's armed carriages began to approach with impetuofity, he made his front line retire behind that palifade, by which the carriages were flopped.

and became entirely useless.

However, the cavalry of the Barbarians vigo- Plut. in roufly attacked those, who guarded the works. Sylla, & They could not sustain the charge: and having Appiana been put to flight, communicated their disorder and confusion, even to the body of troops, that were to support them. All gave way and fled. Sylla hastened thither, and difmounting from his horse, took an enligh, and advancing towards the enemy, he cried out to his troops. For my part, it is glorious to die bere: For yours, if you should be asked, where you abandoned your General, remember you fay, at Orchomenus. This reproach, and the example of the General, reanimated the flying troops; at the fame time two cohorts of the right wing arrived : and with that aid Sylla having repulsed the enemy, contented himself with that advantage, and continued his works.

The Barbarians foon returned to the charge in better order than at first. The battle was obstinate; till the Archers finding themselves pressed by the Romans, made use of their ar-

A. R. 666 rows, as fwords, in close fight. But at length victory declared for Sylla: the Barbarians were forced to regain their camp, with the lofs of fifteen thouland men, amongst whom was the fon-in-law of Archelaus.

> Sylla, in confequence of these successes, carried on his lines continually; and was already within an hundred and twenty paces of the enemy's camp. The latter, enraged to fee themfelves thut up by an enemy, lefs numerous than their own, tried a new effort, but with still worse success than the former. The Romans not contented with having repulfed them, attacked the camp, and carried it fword in hand. The conquered had no retreat but on the fide of the marshes, where so great a number of them perished, that Plutarch tells us, in his time, almost two hundred years after this battle, bows, helmets, pieces of armour, and fwords of the Barbarians, were found in the mud. Archelaus lay hid two days in the marshes, and afterwards escaped to Chalcis, where he employed himself in re-affembling the remains of his two defeats. Sylla returned into Theffaly to take up his winter-quarters; and, as he had no news of Lucullus, he resolved to build thips himself; rightly perceiving, that he could not purfue his advantages, and compleat his victory, without a fleet.

Lucullus fleet, and fails to the A gean fea. Plut. in Lucullo.

Lucullus had not been prevented by negliassembles a gence from the speedy execution of his important commission. Various obstacles retarded his activity. He fet out from Athens with a few light veffels, and having happily paffed through the enemy's fleet, he arrived first in Crete, and afterwards at Cyrene. On his arrival at the latter place, he found every thing in diforder.

We have related in the 636th year, that Ptolo- A. R. 666. my Aplon, the last King of Cyrene, had left his dominions, by will, to the Romans, who, instead of taking possession of them, had given the Cyrenmans their liberty, exacting only a small tribute from them. The Cyrenzans, accustomed to the government of Kings, could not govern themselves : feditions, cruel * tyranny, multhers of tyrants, revival of factions, all the direful effects of liberty degenerated into licence, in their turns, alternately harraffed that miserable city. It was torn to pieces by the diffentions of the principal citizens, when Lucullus landed there. Before they gave him the thips he demanded, they conjured him to reestablish tranquility and good order amongst them. He could not deny himself to so just a request. He found them in a situation that promised success. For in former times, that People having defited the same thing of Plato,

seemed to the Greeks to merit preserved in his treatise upon the greatest praises, though the vittues of women, being those sentiments induced ber to foreign to my fubject, I concommit the most acrosious teht myself with a transient things, de evered Cyrene from mention of them here. This two tyrants, one of whom Heroine's name was Atetaother ber fon-in-law. She left bonour than ber esurage, formed and executed alone, is, that ofter having proved figns. She first made her fon- it's though invited to share in the tyrant's own brother. And She confined herfelf to the usual be destroyed in his turn. The

and him all possible descences. But apore-A avoman whose con- particular accounts of these rage and Real for her country facts, which Plutareh has not withflanding a thousand the superiority of her genius obstacles, such hazardous de- by these two great effects of in-law hill ber busband, the the government of the city, ofterwards, when he shewed occupations of her sex, con-binifelf as cruel as his brother sented to see her country enjoy had been, the caused him to the liberty she had arguired it.

A. R. 666. that Philosopher answered, It was hardly pos-Ant. C. 86. fible to give them laws in the state of prosperity they enjoyed. (a) And indeed nothing is more difficult to govern and control than man. when flushed with good fortune; and nothing. on the contrary, more fupple and docile, when dejected by diffress and disgrace. It was this, that disposed the Cyrenæans on the present occasion to submit voluntarily to the decrees of Lucullus. He refided some time amongst them; and having re-instated the laws of their ancient Legislators, and added regulations that fuited the emergencies of their prefent affairs, he put to sea again, and landed in Egypt. He had a bad voyage. Many of his ships were either taken or funk by the Pirates, who began to infest all those seas. Lucullus escaped, and arrived at Alexandria.

Ptolomy Lathyrus then reigned there. That Prince gave Lucullus the best reception, and paid him all possible deference. But apprehending without doubt the too wear power of the Romans, and fecretly favouring in Mithridates the defender of the common cause of Kings, he refused to have any share in the war against him, and only gave Lucullus fome veffels to convoy him to Cyprus. The Roman in consequence was reduced to draw together what ships he could get from the maritime cities of Asia. The Rhodians seconded him with all the magnanimity and fidelity, of which they had already given fuch great proofs. Their fleet united with the ships he had affembled from different places, enabled him to keep the

⁽a) Cύδιν γας ανθεώπε δυ- ςασίας, συςαλέντο υπό της σαςκλότερον εὖ ωςάοςτεν δοκείνος τύχης. Plut. in Luc.

Ægean sea, in order to facilitate Sylla's passage A. R. 666. into Afia, who, during this interval, had gained Ant. C. 36the two victories of Chæronea and Orchomenus, and purged Greece of the troops and Generals of Mithridates.

The affairs of that Prince did not go well Tetrarche in Asia. The victories of Sylla had re-animated of the the Roman party in that great country; and Gallo-Mithridates, from endeavouring to remedy the put to death evil by every kind of cruelty, had only aug- by order of mented it. He had began by fecuring the Mithripersons of all he suspected. Amongst the rest dates. he had either fent for, or engaged to come to him, the Tetrarchs of the Gallo-Gracians, with their children and relations, to the number of fixty. Those Princes, seeing themselves removed from their country, strictly guarded, and treated with extreme rigour, conspired against him. Their plot was discovered; and they were all massacred, except three, who escaped with great difficulty, one of whom was the famous Dejet rus. Mithridates seized their treasures, put garrisons into their cities, and fent Eumachus to govern Gallo-Græcia in his name, and under his authority. But the three Princes, who had escaped his cruelty, soon asfembled their ancient subjects under their banners. They drove out Eumachus, and re-poffessed themselves of the whole country.

The Isle of Chio also experienced the most The isle of horrible treatment from Mithridates. He kept Chio treatin mind the veffel of that country, which had ed cruelly. ran foul of his at the siege of Rhodes. Besides which it appeared, that the Romans had a strong party in this island. He first confiscated the estates of several, who had fled to Sylla's camp. He then fent Commissioners to

make

A. R. 666. make enquiries after fuch as were fulpected of ant. C. 86. favouring the Romans. And laftly, he included the whole city: and Zenobius having failed to the island by his orders, with troops feemingly intended for Greece, made himself master, during the night, both of the walls, and all the important posts. The next day he assembled the inhabitants, acquainted them with the King's suspicions of them, and added, that to purge themselves, it was necessary to deliver up their arms, and give the children of the principal citizens for hostages. They were reduced to obey; believing at leaft, as they were flattered, that Mithridates would be thereby appealed, and would require no more. But a letter from that Prince foon shewed them, they were deceived in their hopes. He reproached them with adhering to the Romans. He represented the accident of the ship, at a design formed and almost executed against his person. In consequence he declared, that his Council had judged them worthy of death; but however, that he would vouchfafe to be fatisfied with a fine of two thousand talents (about three hundred thousand pounds). The people in their alarm implored the King's elemency, and defired to fend an embaffy to him. But Zenobius refusing that, they found themselves reduced to take all the ornaments of their wives. and even of their temples, to make up the fum imposed: Zenobius again, with new perfidy, pretended there was fomething wanting of the weight: and under that pretext he furnmened them again to the Theatre, which was the place of affembly in the Grecian cities. He there furrounded them with armed men, and made them embark on board ships to be transported

to Colchis, letting the women and children afide, A. R. 666 who were thereby exposed to the infules and violences of the Barbarians, into whole hands they were delivered. The unhappy Chians Memnon found however fome relief in their misfortunes apud Plat. from the compassion of the people of Heraclea their friends and allies. For when the thips. that carried them, were palling before that city, the people fuddenly came out, feized the captives, whom they took great care to affemble, and kept them, till Mithridates having abandoned Afia, in effect of the peace with Sylla, they were at liberty to return to their

own country.

Zenobius was not long before he fuffered the Rough of punishment of his cruelty. Having undertaken feward to treat the city of Ephelus as he had done that cities of of Chio, he fell into his own fnare; and the new cruel-Ephelians were not only upon their guard ties of Miagainst furprize, but they surprized the traitor thridates. himself, and having thrown him into prison, Applanput him to death. This example was followed by feveral other great cities of those parts, who drove out the Governors of Mithridates; fo that he was obliged to employ force for reducing them. And dreadful was it for those who fell into his hands : against whom no rigour was fpared. At the fame time, to prevent the like revolts in the countries that still obeyed him, he granted the debrors remission of their debts, flaves liberty, and strangers the freedom in the cities, where they were fettled: concluding he should thereby make himself creatures, that would continue more affuredly faithful to him, as a change of mafter would inevitably deprive them of the advantages they enjoyed from him. All these rigours, and

measures

A. R. 666. measures of good policy, could not prevent the Ant. C. 86. forming of feveral conspiracies against him, on the occasion of which he caused sixteen hundred persons to be put to death in the different cities of Asia. In this manner were the Asiatics punished by Mithridates himself for their infidelity to the Romans. Sylla compleated the revenge: and in particular, the instruments of Mithridates's cruelties either perished by the orders of the Roman General, prevented punishment by a voluntary death, or banished themfelves by flying into Pontus. But this did not happen till afterwards.

A. R. 667. L. CORNELIUS CINNA III. Ant. C. 85 CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

Negociachelaus at an inter-Sylla. Plut. in Sylla, & Appian.

estimana.

As to the time of which we are speaking, tion set on Mithridates, alarmed by the entire defeat of two foot by Ar-fuch great armies, as those he had fent into Greece, gave Archelaus orders to open a negoview with ciation with Sylla, who received the first overtures of it with great joy. Cinna and Carbo exercised in Rome an unjust and cruel tyranny against all the most illustrious citizens : and most of them, obliged to fly, had no other afylum but Sylla's camp, to which they repaired in fo great a number, that they almost formed a Senate there. That General was in confequence greatly perplexed. He could neither refolve to leave fo many great persons, and his country itself, under oppression, nor abandon the war with Mithridates, which he had so happily began. Whilft he was under this anxiety. the demand of a conference by Archelaus feemed the most favourable circumstance he could hope. He embraced the occasion; and the two Generals had an interview at Delium, a city A.R. 667.

of Bœotia, upon the sea-coast.

The Cappadocian perfectly knew Sylla's perplexity, and was at first for taking advantage. of it. He therefore proposed to him to think no further of Asia, but to return into Italy, whither his affairs recalled him; promising him all the aid he could defire, money, men, and ships. Sylla, whose haughty spirit was infinitely offended by fuch a proposal, did not shew at first what he thought of it, but invited Archelaus in his turn to abandon Mithridates. and to make himself King in his stead : and he offered to affift him in that design, if he would deliver up the fleet he commanded to him. Archelaus cried out, that he was incapable of treason. How, resumed the Roman, you, who are a Cappadocian, and the flave, or, if you will, the friend of a Barbarian King, do you think a Crown too dearly purchased by infidelity? And, baving to do with a Roman-General, and Sylla, dare you talk to bim of treason? Are you not that Archelaus, who, out of an army of fix-score thoufand men, scarce saved enough to secure your flight; who fince lay bid two days in the marshes of Orchomenus, and left the plains of Bæotia covered with your flain?

Archelaus, struck with this thundering answer, changed his tone, and, throwing himself
at Sylla's feet, implored him to put an end to
the war, and to make peace with Mithridates.

I consent to it, replied Sylla: and provided your
Master will deliver up the fleet under your command, will release all the prisoners be has taken
from us, and the fugitive slaves; will send home
the People of Chio, and all the rest be has transplanted into Pontus; will withdraw his garrisons

from

A. R. 667. parrisons from all the places, except these he possessed Ast. C. 85. before be broke bis treaties with us ; will defray all our expences in this war; and laftly, will confine bimself within the kingdom of his ancestors, I bope to obtain his pardan from the Roman People. Archelaus made no objections : and it was agreed, that Mithridates should abandon Affa. properly fo called, and Paphlagonia; should restore Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes; should pay the Romans two thousand talents, (about three hundred thousand pounds) and give them seventy ships equipped for war : and that Sylla on his fide should confirm to him the possession of his ancient dominions, and should cause him to be acknowledged the ally of the Romans

Such was the purport of the treaty; which Mithridates was not in hafte to ratify. The conditions must have seemed very hard to him, and it may be supposed with probability enough, that the arrival of Flaccus in Greece gave him hopes; and that he was for seeing, whether those two Roman Generals would make war upon each other, and thereby enable him either to reinstate his affairs, or at least to obtain a less

Flacens lands in Greece. Flaccus had landed in Greece with two legions, either at the end of the preceding year, or the beginning of this: and we have Cinna's commission, as we have said, to take upon him the command of the war, in Sylla's place, who had been declared an enemy of the Commonwealth. But it was easier to pass such a decree, than to put it in execution; especially by the ministration of Flaccus, the most unsit of all mankind to overcome Sylla, and supply his place. He was very ignorant in the art of war, and had

had all the faults that could excite hatred in the A.R. 667 troops; infatiable awarice, that extended even His chato defrauding the foldiers of their pay, and en ratter. groffing as much as possible, the whole plunder Appian. to himself; besides which, his command was Dio. & capricious and fantaftic, attended with excel Diod five rigour in punishments. It had not been april fafe for a General of his character even to ap Vales. proach too near Sylla; and Flaccus experienced it immediately after his arrival. For a des tachment, which he had fent into Thessaly, went over to his adversary's camp; and if all the rest of his army did not do the same, it was on Fimbria's account, who had been appointed his Lieutenant-General, in order to Supply his want of capacity. It shall say that on

Fimbria knew war, and had nothing of the Charafter mean avarice, and odious cruelty of his Gene of Fimbria, ral: he even gave into the contrapy excefs, and his Lieutefoothed the foldiery by an indulgence entirely nant. repugnant to good discipline. Besides which, he was the most audacious, rash and insolent of mankind. We have feen an instance of what he was capable, in the affaffination of Scavola at the funeral of Marios. It was hard for a good understanding to subsist between two such men as Flaceus and Fimbria. Flaceus hated his Lieueenant: Fimbria despised his General? and both had reason for their sentiments of each

They however agreed in removing from Difford Sylla; and having croffed Macedonia and between Thrace, arrived at Byzantium, in order to go Flaceus from thence into Afia, and purfue Mithridates. and Fimbria, and Here their mifunderstanding broke out, Flac- murder of cus had entered the city, and made his troops Flaccus. encamp without. Upon that Fimbria caballed

the first they met, and took up their quarters in

their General had taken money from the Byzantines to exempt them from quartering the army; and that he little regarded the troops being exposed to the injuries of the weather, whilst he diverted himself at his ease in commodious houses. This discourse had its effect: and the soldiers taking arms entered the city, killed

the houses. Having and room viente ment or bear

Other differences arose between Flaccus and Fimbria, either upon the occasion of the latter's permitting the troops to plunder friend and enemy indifferently, or of other less important fubjects. At length things were carried to fuch an height, that Fimbria, who believed himself necessary, threatened to retire. Flaccus inraged, answered, that he would make him do so, and immediately broke him, and gave Thermus his employment: and foon after, through great imprudence, he passed the straits to go to Chalcedon. Fimbria took the advantage of his absence to present himself to the troops. He at first endeavoured to move them by taking a mournful leave, and asking them for letters to their relations and friends at Rome and in Italy. Afterwards affuming more boldness, he took pains to inflame their refentment against a cruel and avaricious General; pretending that he had been ill-used solely on account of his affection for them. When he faw, that every thing he faid was well received, he ascended the Tribunal, from whence he made an invective in form against Flaccus, and exhorted the foldiers to distrust him as a man capable of betraying them, and delivering them up to Mithridates for money. In effect, he incensed them to such a degree, that with they

they drove away Thermus, and acknowledged A. R. 667. Fimbria for their commander. On the news of so furious a sedition, Flaccus hastened back. But the time was past: the evil was now too great to admit a remedy: and he was reduced to retire as fast as possible, being even let down over the walls. Fimbria first pursued him to Chalcedon, and then to Nicomedia. In this last city having found him hid in a well, he caused him to be taken out, and killed. Afterwards, as if the murder of his General had been a title for succeeding him, he took upon him the command of the army.

Sylla in the mean time was advancing through Sylla ad-Thesialy and Macedonia towards the Helle-wards the spont, having Archelaus with him, whom he Hellespont.

highly careffed, and took very great care of in Suspicions a dangerous illness, which seized that Cappa-of Archedocian General near Larissa. This regard of Sylla for Archelaus, the present he made him of ten thousand acres of land in the isle of Eubœa, and some other circumstances gave birth to, or confirmed, the fuspicions already conceived, that there had been some collusion between them from the battle of Chæronea. Sylla did not admit this; and even refuted the report that had been spread on this subject in his Memoirs. It is not possible for us to determine what to think of it. But it is certain, that Sylla possessed in an high degree, and exercised upon all occafions, the talent of debauching the creatures, officers, and foldiers of those with whom he made war.

However it were, on this march he received Answer the answer of Mithridates, who acquiesced to of Mithrimost of the conditions of the Treaty, but was Haughti-for keeping Paphlagonia, and absolutely refused ness of Vol. X.

A.R. 667 to deliver up his ships. The Ambassadors Ant. C. 85 added, that the King might have obtained better terms from Fimbria, if he had applied to him. That comparison touched Sylla to the quick; and far from admitting the proposed restrictions, What do you fay, replied he to the Ambassadors; does your master trifle with us about Paphlagonia, and a few fbips; be, sobo, in my opinion, ought to thank me upon his knees for leaving bim the right-band, with which be figned the order for massacring an bundred thousand Romans. Let bim not mention Fimbria to me. I am going to Afia, where I shall at the same time chastise Fimbria, and force Mitbridates to change bis note. Archelaus, who was present at this audience, threw himfelf at Sylla's feet. imploring him with tears to calm his rage, and offering to go himself to Mithridates. I'll make bim ratify the whole treaty, faid he, or kill myself before bis face. This proves, which I observe in my way, that Archelaus did not apprehend, that Mithridates had any suspicion of his fidelity. He accordingly fet out, and Sylla moved towards Thrace, to check the incursions made by the people of that country into Macedonia.

Fimbria reduces tes to extreme danger.

. Fimbria very much promoted the conclusion of the Treaty by the vigorous measures he took Mitbrida- against Mithridates. That Prince had appointed one of his fons of his own name to defend Bithynia, and had given him three of his most illustrious Generals, Taxiles, Diophantes, and Menander, for his Council. Young Mithridates had at first some slight advantage over Fimbria; but being foon driven out of the field, he was reduced to fly to Pergamus to his father, and to abandon the whole country to the victor. Fimbria

Fimbria loft no time; and having marched di-A. R. 667. rectly to Pergamus, he obliged the King of Ant. C. 85. Pontus to guit that city with precipitation, and to retire to Pitana upon the fea. The Roman purfued him thither again; and having belieged him on the land-fide, as he had no ships, he fent to Lucullus, who was then with his fleet in the Ægean Sea, to come and shut up the port of Pitana; representing to him, that Mithridates could not escape them, and that they should jointly have the glory of taking the greatest enemy of Rome prisoner, and of terminating the war by an exploit, that would eclipse those of Sylla. It had been all over with Mithridates, if Lucullus had given in to this proposal? But, whether out of attachment to Sylla, whom he would not deprive of his conquest, or averfion to Fimbria, whose wickedness gave him horror, he refused to join in that project, and Mithridates went by fea to Mitylene.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA IV.

A. R. 668. Ant, C. 84.

In fo great an extremity, that Prince per-Mitbridaceived he had no other resource lest, than to tesresolves
conclude the peace with Sylla. Archelaus was to comply
sent back to that General, to declare, that Mi-la. Plut. in
thridates submitted, and only demanded an in-Syll. &
terview. It was near the city of Philippi, that Appian.
Archelaus sound Sylla, who continued his
march to Sestos. There Lucullus, who was
master of the sea, and lay at Abydos, took the
army on board his sleet.

A. R. 668. Ant. C. 84. Their interview.

Mithridates and Sylla met near Dardanum in the country of Troas, each at the head of their troops, but at some distance, having brought but few attendants to the place of interview. The King advanced to meet the Proconful, and offered him his hand. Sylla, before he received that compliment, asked him, whether he would execute the articles concluded with Archelaus. Mithridates having kept filence fome time, Speak, faid the Roman to him: It is for bim, who asks an interview, to explain bimself. As to the victor, it suffices for bim to give ear. Mithridates then undertook to justify himself, and to lay all that happened, partly upon fate, and partly upon the misconduct of the Romans themselves. I have beard say, refumed Sylla, that you were a good orator; but you have now given me a great proof of it, in finding specious colours for so bad a cause as yours. He then refuted all his arguments, reproached him with all his cruelties, and concluded his discourse with asking him again, whether he would adhere to all that Archelaus had promifed on his behalf. Mithridates having answered that he submitted to it; Sylla then gave him his hand, and embraced him. At the same time he presented Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes to him, whom he had brought with him in order to their reconciliation. Mithridates immediately executed the conditions of the treaty, delivered up to Sylla seventy ships of war, released the Roman prisoners, paid the sum flipulated, that is, two, or, as some say, three thousand talents, and returned into the Kingdom of Pontus; having derived no other advantage from his vast and ambitious enterprizes, but a short-lived power, that vanished like a dream,

dream, and of which nothing real remained, A. R. 668. but the infinite calamities he had occasioned to

a great part of the Universe.

Sylla had now to vindicate himself to his sol- Sylla diers, in respect to the peace he had just con-justifies cluded. They thought it strange to suffer the bim/elf to most cruel enemy of the Roman name to re-forbaving turn in fafety to his dominions, with the riches made peace of Asia, that he had plundered and laid under with Micontribution, during four years. These mur-plut, in murs having reached the General's ears, he Syll. thought it incumbent on him not to neglect them; and having affembled his army, he represented, " that it would have been impossible for him to fustain a war at the same time against Mithridates and Fimbria; and that " he had been reduced to come to an accommodation with one enemy, in order to be " in a condition to cope with the other." Accordingly, he began his march to attack Fimbria, who was encamped near Thyatira in Lydia.

Though that General had not been Sylla's He purfues personal enemy, his crimes and oppressions did and renot deserve to pass with impunity. He had duces bim abused his victory by all the insolence, that fuc- to kill bimcels and superiority usually inspire in base and felf. inhuman minds. He exhorted his troops in Appian. person to plunder and ravage the countries: he exacted great fums from the cities, which he distributed amongst his soldiers. If any one made refistance, after having taken it, he caused it to be plundered; and fuch in particular was the fate of Nicomedia. He entered Cyzicum as a friend: but he had fcarce been received Dio apud into it, when he picked a quarrel with the Vales. cichest inhabitants, and pretended that they

K 3

deserved

Appian.

A. R. 668 deserved death. Accordingly, he condemned and executed two to terrify the rest, and in that manner obliged the unfortunate Cyzicenians to give up all they had for the ransom of their lives. His cruelty was so horrible, that, according to Dio, having one day caused many crosses to be erected, as the number of them

Dio ibid. exceeded that of the persons to be executed, he caused those that remained to be supplied at

a venture out of the spectators.

The city of Ilion experienced his fury and barbarity above all the rest. The inhabitants, on his approach, had applied to Sylla, who, being then at a great distance, could only promise them his protection. This was an unpardonable crime with Fimbria. Accordingly, as foon as he was mafter of the city, whether he had taken it by force, or had used treachery in order to his being received into it as a friend and ally (for the thing is related both ways) he gave orders to put all to the fword, without regard to fex or age: he burnt and demolished the walls, houses, and temples, without sparing that of Minerva: and the day after that cruel execution, he even carefully inspected whether there were any building remaining of that unfortunate city. It is faid, that the Palladium was preferved in this general destruction. having been buried and hid in the ruins. This Palladium must have been oddly multiplied, to have been carried off by Diomedes, during the fiege of Troy, brought to Italy by Æneas, and again found at Ilion, at the time of which we are speaking. It was also shewn in other places. into it, when he exclude a certific and

Fimbria expected, by all these plunderings, A. R. 668. that enriched his foldiers, to have gained their affection. He was deceived, and found, to his cost, that to give troops all kinds of licence is a bad method of fecuring their fidelity. As foon as Sylla appeared in fight of his camp, and had fummoned him to relign the command of the army, to which he had no right, the defertion began, and Fimbria faw himfelf in danger of being intirely abandoned. He however answered haughtily, that it was Sylla himfelf, that had no legal authority, having been declared the enemy of the commonwealth; and he prepared to make a vigorous defence. But his foldiers openly refused to fight with their fellow-citizens. He spared no kind of arguments and intreaties to move them. He threw himself at their feet; he conjured them with tears not to deliver him up to his enemy, and went from tent to tent to make his fad lamentations to the officers. None hearkened to him, not even of those, who had gained most by his robberies, and who before had professed the greatest affection for him. In his despair, he tried to get Sylla affassinated. But the flave, who was to give the blow, was difcovered. At last, having no resource, he demanded an interview. Sylla would not fee him, and fent an officer to him, called Rutilius. The Vile become very abject and humble, when in danger: Fimbria descended so far as to beg for pardon, excusing himself, on account of his youth. Rutilius answered, that if he would quit Asia, Sylla would grant him his permission. Fimbria apparently did not rely much upon that promife; and faying, that be had a better way for extricating himself out

K 4

A. R. 668. of all his misfortunes, he retired to Pergamus, Ant. C. 84. and there in the temple of Æsculapius, stabbed himself with his sword. The wound was not mortal, and a flave, at his request, put an end to his life, and afterwards killed himself on the body of his master. His freedmen, having asked permission to pay him their last duty, Sylla confented; declaring that he would not imitate Marius and Cinna, who had carried their cruelty beyond their enemies lives, and had refused them burial. Fimbria's army fubmitted to Sylla, who in confequence was now fole arbiter of Asia and Greece.

Dispositions of Sylla after the wiltory.

His first care was to write to the Senate and People of Rome, to give them an account of his exploits and victories; affecting ignorance of the decree, by which he had been declared an enemy to his country. At the fame time he appointed Curio to reinstate Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes upon their Thrones: and as for himfelf, he made the distribution of punishments and rewards in the provinces, he had just reconquered, his employment. He found much less to reward than punish. Ilion, Chios, Magnefia, the Rhodians, and Lycians were the only States, which having either suffered much from Mithridates, or shewn an inviolable fidelity for the Romans, seemed to deserve either to be reestablished, or honoured with more distinguish. ed privileges. All the other People and cities had rendered themselves culpable in respect to the Romans; and to punish them, Sylla began his foldiers by distributing his Legions throughout Asia; with orders, that his foldiers should not only be quartered, but should each receive sixteen drachmas (about eight shillings) a day, and the centurions fifty; (about five and twenty shillings)

He gives great licence.

and themselves, and such of their friends as A. R. 668. they should invite, to be entertained, with two Ant. C. 84habits, one for the house, and the other to wear abroad. His defign was, in punishing the rebels, to gratify his foldiers, and fix them in his interest. He succeeded; but he introduced luxury and debauchery amongst them; and enervated by the pleasures of those rich countries, they carried back to Rome the vices to which they had accustomed themselves in Asia. We have this remark from (a) Sallust, " Sylla's " foldiers, fays he, treated with an indulgence " contrary to the maxims of our ancestors, ener-" vated themselves in a country, abounding "with pleasures, of all kinds, and which the " idleness they enjoyed, induced them to pur-" fue. It was there, that the Roman armies se learnt to abandon themselves to the excesses " of debauch and drunkenness; to conceive a se tafte for flatues, paintings, and sculptures; to " rob not only particulars of those ornaments, " but cities and the temples of the gods; in a word, to plunder without regard to facred " or profane." Afia in all times had been fatal to the manners of the Romans. From their first entering it under the command of Scipio Afiaticus*, Livy confirms the fame corruption mentioned here by Sallust.

(a) L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quò sibi sidum faceret, contra morem majorum luxuriosè nimisque liberaliter habuerat. Loca amœna, vo-luptaria, facilè in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus

Romanus amare, potare, figna, tabulas pictas, vasa cælata mirari, ea privatim ac publicè rapere, facra profanaque omnia polluere. Sallust. Catil. c. 11.

* See Vol. VII. de Scipione

Ant. C. 84.

A, B. 668. The quartering of the foldiers by Sylla's or ders in the manner we have just related, was the common punishment of all the cities of Asia. But those who had fignalized their attachment for Mithridates, and their enmity for the Romans, were punished with peculiar rigour, and especially Ephesus, which through a base and infamous adulation of the King of Pontus, had contemptuously pulled down the monuments. which the Romans had confecrated in their temples. Sylla also condemned the slaves made free by Mithridates to their former state: and as their number was very great, many affembled in bodies, and defended themselves in arms; and this was a new occasion for treating the cities with rigour, of which they had made themselves masters. Some of them were dismantled, and the inhabitants reduced into captivity.

He fines Afra 20,000 talents.

And laftly, Sylla summoned the Deputies of all Afia to Ephefus, made them a long speech, repeated by Appian, in which he at first expatiated upon the benefits the Asiatics had received from the Romans, and the ingratitude with which they had been repaid. He reproached them in particular with the horrid flaughter, that had been made of fo many thousand Romans. He added that such enormous crimes deserved the most severe revenge; but in confideration for the Grecian name, and the ancient alliance, he would only exact from them the immediate payment of the duties and tributes of five years. Plutarch makes the fum then imposed by Sylla, amount to twenty thousand talents, which is about three millions sterling. Happily for Asia, Lucullus was charged with levying them; and though

I lut. in I ucullo. he was obliged to execute these rigorous orders, A. R. 66s. he tempered the severity of them as much as possible by his lenity and moderation. This was also lucky for Luculius himself, who in effect of this commission was absent from Italy, during the time that Sylla was pursuing the party of Marius, and thereby had no share in the horrors of the civil war.

Another scourge then afflicted Asia: this The Piwas the Pirates, who began then to become rates raformidable. Mithridates, who held intelligence vage the with them, gave himself no trouble to defend Asia. a country from their incursions, of which he Appian.

was foon to be deprived. Sylla had the fame indifference, though whilft he was upon the spot they had the audacity to attack and take several considerable cities, as Jassus, Samos, Clazomene, and Samothracia, the temple of which last they plundered, and carried off its riches to the amount of a thousand talents, (about an hundred and fifty thousand pounds.) He thought perhaps, that Asia well deserved what it suffered; or rather being obliged to return to Italy, he was unwilling to engage in a new enterprize, that did not appear absolutely necessary, and might retard him a great while. He therefore left Muræna in Afia, with the legions that had ferved under Fimbria: and fet out from Ephesus with those, with whom he had gained so many victories.

Perhaps (a) there is nothing more worthy of praise in the whole life of Sylla, than the tran-

quillity,

(e) Vix quidquam in Sullæ operibus clarius duxerim, quam quòd, quum per triennium Cinnanæ Marianæque partes Italiam obsiderent, neque illaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus omisit; existimavitque antò frangendum hostem, qu'àm A. R. 668. quillity, with which he left himself time to Ant. C. 84. terminate the war with Mithridates gloriously, whilft his personal interests recalled him to Italy. rence giwen by Syl- The faction of Marius and Cinna had had the la of Mi- fole sway in Rome during three years; and Sylla, abridates. to bis pri- neither ever diffembled his defign to make war wateinter-against it, nor abandoned that he had upon his hands. He however believed it incumbent upon him to crush the enemy, before he took revenge of the citizens; and to deliver the Empire from the danger, that threatened it from the stranger, before he attacked his personal enemies (a). Plutarch compares him in this point to those couragious dogs, which never let go their hold; and which when struck and even wounded, do not quit the adversary they have fastened on, till they have brought him down.

Sylla in three days failing arrived from Ephesus at the Piræus. During his stay there, he purchased the library of Appellicon, in which were included the originals of Aristotle's works. The reader will permit me to

refer

ulciscendum civum; repulfoque externo metu, ubi quod alienum esset vicisset, superarer quod erat domesticum. Vell II. 14.

(a) Καθάπες οι γεναίοι πότες, θα άπεις το δήγμα κ την λαβήν πρότερον ή τ άνταγωνις ήν άπειπειν Plut. in compar. Lyfandri & Sullæ.

I must take notice, that we are here to understand only the originals, or Aristotle's own manuscripts, which Mr. Rollin mentions after Strabo in something too general a manner. It is not possible to believe, that his works

continued absolutely unknown from the time of his death. But the originals were in Appellicon's library, and perbaps several trads, that bad not appeared in publick. In consequence the edition of them taken at Rome from the manuscripts, brought thither by Sylla, was both more authentick, and more compleat, than the preceding ones. borrow these remarks from a book printed at Paris in the year 1717, intituled Amenites de la Critique : The Treasures of Criticism, in which the fact I am speakrefer him in respect to this fact, to what is said A. R. 668. of it in the ancient history. From Athens

Sylla took his route by land through Thessay He preand part of Macedonia, and arrived at Dyr-pares to rachium, where whilst he was preparing to go return into to Italy, Plutarch tells us, a satyr was brought Italy. to him, that had been found asleep. It does Sull. not suit our plan to dwell upon a fact of this kind, which must be fabulous, or misrepresented through ignorance or imposture. But before we follow Sylla to Italy, we must resume our account of what passed there, whilst he was imployed in the war against Mithridates.

ing of is treated, and is little too much severity in discussed with abundance of respect to Strabo, a most jucare, but perhaps with a dicious and sensible writer.

war antiwards with adarms's faction, the proferiprions. Defacer the and death of Sylla. It also encludes bluery a foot war wan Mith threat. All their lasts pais in the pare of less than most us. I can the year bot to

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ROMAN HISTORY.

HICH contains what passed at Rome and in Italy in the absence of Sylla, his war afterwards with Marius's faction; the proferiptions, Dictatorship, and death of Sylla. It also includes Murena's short war with Mithridates. All these facts pass in the space of less than nine years, from the year 666 to 674.

SECT. I.

Universal bankruptcy. Unjust law of Valerius Flaccus, Alteration of the species of coin. Decree to fix them. Fraud of Marius Gratidianus. Pompey accused of peculation on account of his father. His character. The beauty of his person in his youth. He had prevented his father's army from quitting him. Censors. Sylla's letters to the Senate. The Senate's Deputation to Sylla. The Consuls affemble

semble great forces. Cinna's death. Carbo remains sole Consul. Carbo is for exacting Hostages from the cities of Italy. Constancy of Castricius, Magistrate of Placentia. Adventures of Crassus. He makes some movements in Spain. Metellus Pins driven out of Africa, retires to Liguria, and afterwards joins Sylla. Decree of the Senate for disbanding all the armies. Preparations of the Confuls against Sylla. Affection of Sylla's soldiers for their General. Sylla lands in Italy, and advances as far as Campania without oppofition. Defeat of Norbanus. The capital burnt. Cethegus goes over to Sylla. Treachery of Verres to Carbo. Sylla debauches Scipio's army. Sertorius goes to Spain. Carbo's faying concerning Sylla. Saying of Sylla to Craffus. Pompey at the age of twenty-three, raises an army of three legions. - His first victories. He joins Sylla, robo pays bim great bonours. Antipathy between Pompey and Crassus. Modefty and deference of Pompey for Metellus Pius. Carbo Conful for the third time with Marius the younger. The Prætor Fabius is burnt in his palace at Utica. Advantages gained by Sylla's Lieutenants. He makes a treaty with the States of Italy. His confidence. Maffacres decreed by the Conful Marius, and executed by Damasippius. Death of Scevola, the Pontifen Maximus. Battle of Sacriportus, in which Marius is defeated by Sylla. Siege of Praneste. Sylla is received into Rome. Ineffectual efforts to succour Praneste. Norbanus and Carbo abandon Italy. Last battle at the gates of Rome, between Sylla and the Samnites. Sylla's change of manners. Six thousand prisoners massacred by bis orders. Rome

Rome filled with murders. Proscription. Catilina's cruelties. Horrible punishment of Marius Gratidianus. Oppianicus gratifies bis private revenge under the colour of the proscription. Cato, at fourteen years of age, is for killing Sylla. Cafar profcribed, and faved by the intercession of powerful friends. Sylla's words upon that occasion. End of the siege of Praneste. Young Marius's death. Sylla assumes the surname of Happy. executed by Sylla in Præneste. Cities proscribed, sold, and demolished by Sylla. Pompey is fent into Sicily to pursue the remains of the conquered party. Carbo's death. Death of Soranus. Lenity of Pompey. Generofity of Pompey's entirely laudable conduct Sthenius. in Sicily.

AFFAIRS OF ROME.

URING the interval that elapsed from the death of Marius to Sylla's return into Italy, the city of Rome enjoyed a kind of calm, being tyrannized over only by one of the two factions, that tore the Commonwealth. Banishments and oppressions compelled the principal Senators to fly and disperse into different retreats, especially Sylla's camp. But there were no battles between the citizens.

law of Valerius Flaccus.

Universal Another calamity, undoubedly less deplorabankrupt- ble than a civil war, but however very great in cy. Umust itself, afflicted the city and state: this was the ruin of the publick credit, and an universal bankruptcy. In the midst of the continual alarms and distrusts, which prevailed at Rome, it is eafy to suppose, that people kept their purses

fhut,

shut, and that money became scarce. Besides which the loss of Asia, taken by Mithridates from the Romans, induced the ruin of a great number of citizens, Tax-farmers general, and others, who had fettlements in that rich Province. The effects of this were fenfibly felt at Rome (a). " For it cannot happen," as Cicero observes, " speaking of the fact in question, that the fortunes of many should be ruined in " a State, without involving a greater number " In the same calamity." Thus no body paid; and all commerce and business were at a fland: and the Conful Flaccus, inflead of remedying the evil, authorized and augmented it A. R. 666. Vell. II. in paffing a law, by which debtors should not 23. be obliged to pay more than a fourth of what they owed to their creditors. This law has with reason been deemed infamous, for abolishing the faith of contracts, upon which all human fociety is founded: and Velleius obferves, that the author of it himself was soon punished for it, being murdered the following year by Fimbria in Nicomedia, as we have related above.

The scarcity of money, and the difficulty of payments occasioned thoughts of a remedy, which is always dangerous: this was to alter the species, and to change their value. The succeeding diminutions and augmentations became so frequent, that no body knew what they were worth. The Tribunes of the People, and the Prætors, having assembled to deliberate upon that affair, drew up a decree, by which they fixed the value of the species: and they agreed

⁽a) Non possunt una in plures secum in eandem civitate multi rem atque calamitatem trahant. Profortunas amittere, ut non L. Manil. n. 19.

Vol. X. L after

after dinner to go in a body to the Tribunal of Harangues, and to publish their decree all together. But M. Marius Gratidianus, one of the Prætors, and nephew of the famous Marius, on the breaking up of this little Council, whilst the rest withdrew to their houses, went to the Forum, and having published the decree in his own name, engroffed the whole merit to himself of what had been deliberated in com-

The honour this decree did him with the multitude is incredible. Statues were erected to him at the corners of every freet; and torches were lighted, and wine and incense offered, before the statues, as if some divinity were to be honoured. He affured himself, that he could not fail of the Consulship. But all these advantages, which Gratidianus had acquired by his knavish cunning, does not prevent Cicero from condemning him with the utmost severity. "There (a) are, faid he, things that frequent-" ly interfere in Councils; when the injustice " does not appear very atrocious, and the ad-" vantage to be derived from it very great. "In this case, for instance, Gratidianus con-" ceived it no great crime to rob his Collegues " and the Tribunes of the People of the merit of this decree; and it feemed a great point " gained for attaining the Confulship, to which " he flattered himself he should be raised by " this means. But there is a certain rule in all

magnum videtur - Sed omnium una regula est, aut tione nonnunquam, quum illud quod utile videtur turpe ne sit; aut si turpe est, ne videatur effe utile. Cic. de Off. III. 81. Man, Olaharia

⁽a) Hæc funt quæ conturbant homines in deliberaid in quo violatur æquitas, non ita magnum; illud autem quod ex eo paritur per-

things; which is, that what feems advan-" tagious should never admit any thing base,

or that nothing base should ever be deemed

" advantagious."

It is in this year Freinshemius dates with Pompey much probability, the affair Pompey had to accused of fustain in defence of the memory and fortunes on account of his father. An accuser pretended, that of his Pompeius Strabo had been guilty of peculation, father. and demanded that an enquiry should be made pomp. into his fortune for what he had embezzled from the publick. We have feen, that the conduct of that General had given but too just foundation for fuch an acculation. Young Pompey was personally involved in this affair: but for mere trifles, some hunting-nets, and books, which he was faid to have received at the taking of Asculum. The most famous orators of Rome spoke for Pompey in this cause, Philippus then considerably advanced in years, Carbo, who was Conful the next year, and Hortenfius, whose rising fame already obfcured that of his predecessors. Pompey himfelf, who was then but twenty years old, acquired great reputation by it. He had occasion to speak in it several times, which he did with infinite grace; tempering the fire of youth with an air of gravity and maturity beyond his years. The Prætor Antiftius who prefided at the trial, was fo charmed with his behaviour, that during the profecution he concluded the marriage of his daughter with the young defendant. The thing was known, and when the Prætor passed sentence in his favour, the whole People repeated the * acclamation used by the Romans in the . Talassio. nuptial ceremony. The marriage actually took place, and Antiftia was Pompey's wife.

It was in confequence on this occasion, that Pompey received the first proofs of the favour of the Roman People, which continually increafed afterwards, and followed him not only during his life, but even beyond the grave. Character Many qualities, fays Plutarch, acquired him of Pompey this universal affection; a wife and modest behaviour, great tafte and address in military exercifes, a natural and infinuating eloquence, a character of fidelity to engage confidence, and an obliging and easy familiarity. For never did any one ask with less importunity, nor serve others with a better grace (a). He had the art of giving with humility, and of receiving with dignity.

This is Plutarch's picture of Pompey. a pity, it is defective in point of truth with respect to the most effential circumstance: I mean integrity and fidelity. We shall see in his life many facts, that fallify this praise, the most difficult of all to deferve for those who aspire at great eminence, and to fultain in it. On the contrary it will appear, that he often fought only to preferve the outlide of probity, but at bottom that he was a man on whose friendship and professions no great dependance was to be

had.

The beauty fon in bis youtb.

I return to his youth, in which were united of bis per- the reality of merit and the powerful recommendation of all the graces of that time of life. His physiognomy was sweet and majestic s an air of fire entirely amiable denoted the most noble and exalted fentiments. His very manher of throwing back his hair, the tender and

⁽a) Troom aurou rais dire, ni ro cours sau-Xapiot my to aremaxis di- Carorto.

lively cast of his eyes, had their resistless charms. He was thought to resemble the statues of Alexander; and the name of that great conqueror was given him; and he was highly pleased with it. The orator Philippus in pleasing the cause for him, of which I have just been speaking, faid, that no body ought to wonder if a

Philip loved an Alexander.

Pompey was formed by nature to be beloved; and he no fooner appeared in the armies, than he won the hearts of the foldiery. His father very happily experienced this on a most important occasion. When he was incamped in the view of Cinna, who was belieging Rome, as I related above, Cinna by his intrigues endeavoured to debauch the troops of his adversary. One L. Terentius, who lay in the fame tent with young Pompey, was to kill him, and others were to let fire to the General's tent. Pompey had information given him of this vile defign at supper, and was so much master of himself as not to flew any fign of trouble, nor to give Terentius, who was at the fame table, the least suspicion: he even continued the entertainment with more gaiety than before. The time for going to bed being come, he stole out of his tent, without being perceived by his companion, and doubled the guard around that of his father. In the mean time Terentius having got up, approached Pompey's bed, and thrust his fword feveral times through it. At the fame instant the rest of the conspirators raised the army: and as the General was much hated, all were preparing to abandon him, and had ftruck their tents in order to fet out. Strabo did not dare to flew himself. But his young fon running throughout the whole army, endeavoured L 3

to appeale the troops, and mingled tears with his intreaties. At last finding he could not move them, he laid himself down along the gate of the camp, declaring that if they would quit it, they must do for by walking over his body. That fight touched them; and except eight hundred, who went to Cinna, all the rest remained faithful. These are the most remarkable circumstances related by Plutarch concerning the beginnings of the great Pompey. We shall soon see him at the head of armies, a General almost before having been a soldier.

The year 666 had Cenfors, who were L.

Cenfors.

84.

Marcius Philippus, and M. Perperna. Those Cic. pro Magistrates acted according to the dictates of domo, 83, Cinna; and Philippus was not ashamed to strike out of the lift of Senators Ap. Claudius his uncle, whose merit was equal to his birth. But he had been accused by a Tribune, and divested of the authority he exercised, through hatred for his attachment to the party of the nobility and Sylla. And this was the occasion of his being degraded from the rank of Senator; a difgrace not to himself, but Philippus, who having accepted the Cenforship from the hands of the Tyrant of Rome, acted in consequence in support of the Tyranny. These Censors numbered the citizens, who were found to amount to four hundred and fixty three thoufand: a number much greater than in preceding times, no doubt in effect of the late incorporation of the States of Italy into the freedom of Rome. They nominated L. Valerius Flaccus Prince of the Senate, who was of the same family with the Conful. This nomination proves, that Scaurus, before Prince of the Senate, was beautour the whole army endeavenued

dead. For the person, who had once received that honourable title, retained it during life.

The following year, during which Cinna was A. R. 667. Consul for the third time with Carbo, letters Sylla's letcame to Rome from Sylla, which spread great ters to the alarm there. That General, after the taking of Appian. Athens, and the victories of Chæronea and Civil. 1. 1. Orchomenus, finding himself in a condition to make himself feared, wrote to the Senate a letter of complaint and reproach; retaining however the character of moderation he had hitherto piqued himself upon. He repeated all the fervices he had done the Commonwealth, as well from the time, when he had been only Questor in the war of Numidia, as afterwards, in different stations, against the Cimbri, in Cilicia, in the war with the Allies, and laftly during his Confulship. He talked in an high strain of his recent exploits against Mithridates, and enumerated all the Provinces he had reconquered from that Prince; Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, and Asia. He insisted particularly upon the afylum he had given in his camp to those illustrious fugitives, whom the violences of Cinna had driven out of Rome and Italy. To fo many important fervices he opposed the unworthy treatment he had fuffered; his honour branded by a decree, that declared him an enemy to his country; his house ruined; his friends maffacred; and his wife and children reduced to fly through a thousand dangers in quest of fafety with him. He concluded his letter with faying, that he was upon the point of returning to avenge both his friends and the Commonwealth, and to punish the authors of so many injustices and cruelties: but that all the other The outers who were at thecont,

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citizens, old and new, had nothing to fear on his part. Action in bondary solved office and right

Deputation of the Senate to Sylla.

Sylla's enemies had already made great preparations, and drawn together fea and land forces, with provisions and ammunition, in order to be in a condition to oppose him, when he should repass into Italy. They however could not prevent his letter from being read in the Senate, and the disposition of the Fathers to peace in effect. L. Valerius Flaccus, Prince of the Senate, made a speech on that head, to exhort that order to labour a reconciliation of the two parties: and those in Sylla's interest, fuch as feared him, and all the persons of worth in general, giving in to the advice of Flaccus, it was refolved to fend a deputation to Sylla, to defire him in the name of the Senate to condescend to an accommodation with his adverfaries, and to promife him all the fecurity he could defire.

affemble great forces.

The Confuls The Senate also made the Confuls promise to raise no more troops, till Sylla had answered the propofals made to him: but far from keeping their word, having both caused themselves to be continued Confuls for the enfuing year, they made a tour throughout Italy, affembling troops, and transporting them with expedition to the coasts of Dalmatia, with design to go from thence by land against Sylla, Cinna's death disconcerted this defign; which happened in the following manner.

(inna's death.

A. R. 668. The first division of his army was already in Dalmatia. But the fecond having met with a form, and been driven back to the coasts of Italy, the foldiers difbanded, faying that they would not go to make war against their fellowcitizens. The others, who were at Ancona, followed

followed this example, and declared, that they would not pass the sea. Cinna, then Consul for the fourth time, flew out violently against the Mutineers; and having affembled them, he undertook to reproach them, and to act with authority. He did not know, that an usurped power is always precarious and dependant; and that rigour is dangerous and often impracticable in regard to those, who do not think them-.maige A. felves obliged by the laws to continue in obedience. Besides which his soldiers were incensed Plut, in against him on the account of young Pompey, Pomp. who having come to his camp, and believing himself in danger, had withdrawn secretly. As he had disappeared suddenly, the troops, who loved him, were extremely troubled, and did not doubt, but that Cinna had caused him to be murdered. Accordingly when he took upon him to reprimand them, far from hearing him with submission, they rose upon him, and began to throw stones at him. Cinna would have fled; but seeing himself pursued by a Centurion fword in hand he fell upon his knees, and offered him a ring of great value, which he had on his finger. I am not come to fign a * writing faid that officer fiercely, but to deliver the Commonwealth from the most cruel and unjust of Tyrants: and at the fame time he ran his fword through him. It was an advantage to Cinna, as Velleius Vell. II. observes, to perish in a sedition of the soldiers: 24. he deserved the greatest of punishments, and could not have escaped them, had he fallen into Sylla's hands when victorious. But as to the praifes, which the same Velleius gives his valour

to more than the relations while some the wife and the

bnetni

feals to the ads they figned, they were on their finger.

and bravery, I doubt whether we ought to agree with him. In every thing done by Cinna, I can discern nothing but the intrigues of a factious man; and if he domineered during three years in Rome, it was owing to Sylla's

Conful. Appian.

Carbo con- Carbo who remained alone at the head of tinues fole his party, was at first in great perplexity. He made the troops in Dalmatia return; but as to himself, he was not in haste to go to Rome to hold the affemblies for electing a Collegue in the room of Cinna. The Tribunes were forced to menace him with a decree of the People for displacing himself. At length he came. But feveral obstacles, pretended bad omens, and some claps of thunder having twice broke up the affemblies, he continued fole Conful. That was undoubtedly his view. Carbo had not learnt by Cinna's misfortune to moderate his ambition; and he exceeded him in cruelty. Sex. Lucilius, who had been Tribune of the people the year before, and had opposed him upon some occasions, was thrown down the Tarpeian rock by order of Popilius Lænas then Tribune, and no doubt by the Conful's infligation; and the Collegues of Lucilius being accused, and having thought proper to fly to Sylla, were banished by sentence.

In the mean time Sylla's answer arrived. He fwer to the declared, " that he could never be reconciled Deputies of to fuch enormous criminals, and the authors the Senate. es of fo many violences: that however, if the Appian. Commonwealth would spare their lives, he would acquiesce. That as to his own safety.

" he should rely for that upon the affection of " his army." (Remarkable words, fays Appian, which shewed evidently, that he did not intend

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Plat. in Craffo.

intend to dismiss his troops, but that his design was to make himself Master of the Commonwealth.) He added, "that it was but just to restore to him his fortune, the priesthood, " and all the honours, of which his enemies " had deprived him." He ordered some of his followers to carry this answer to Rome; and they fet out with the Deputies of the Senate. On their arrival at Brundusium, they were informed of Cinna's death, and the confusion in which all things were, in the city. In consequence they did not judge it proper to proceed, and returned immediately to their General. Only the Deputies of the Senate therefore carried Sylla's answer back, which seemed equitable and moderate. But Carbo was for war, and carried it. Accordingly every thing was prepared in Italy for opposing Sylla with vigour, who approached.

Carbo was even for taking a fingular pre-Carbo is caution, and exacting hostages from all the ci-for exacties and colonies, to secure their fidelity. But ing bostathe Senate opposed with vigour a project, the ges from execution of which was upon the point of put-of Italy. ting the flower of the Italian youth into the Firmnessof hands of a cruel man: and Carbo was obliged Castricius to give way. He even met with resistance from strate of a municipal Magistrate, whose resolution was Placentia. justly applauded. For the Consul going to Liv. Epict. Placentia to demand hostages, M Castricius, lxxxiv. Wal. Max. who had the principal authority in that city, in vi. 2, 10. plain terms resused to obey. Carbo was offended, threatened him, and told him he had many swords at his command. And as

for me, replied Castricius coolly, I am very old: intimating thereby, that he little feared to lose

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the small remainder of life he had then to hope.
Whether

Whether this answer mollified Carbo, and touched him with some sense of shame, or that he was ill attended, or was afraid of the Senate, he did not venture to carry the affair farther, and Castricius came off for the menace.

During this same year some slight movements were made in Sylla's favour in Spain and Africa, but without any confequence. Craffus, then very young, was the author of those in were deferred of Links's ite

Spain.

Adventures of Craffus. He makes fome movements in Spain. Plut. in Craffo.

We have faid before, that his father and eldest brother had been murdered, when Marius and Ciona made themselves masters of Rome. It was not without difficulty he had efcaped himself with three friends and ten flaves: and as he had been some years before in Spain, and had contracted fome acquaintance, when his father commanded the armies there, he refolved to retire thither. But on arriving there he found terror had spread universally, and Marius's cruelty was no less dreaded there, than if he had been present in person upon the spot. Crassus in consequence did not dare to make himself known; and having found a great cave near the fea on the estate of one Vibius, he hid himself in it with all his followers. But it was necessary to subsist; he therefore fent a flave to found Vibius. He who was a generous friend, was charmed to hear, that Craffus had escaped Marius's fury, and to prevent his being discovered, he did not go to see him; and ordered the Steward of his estate to provide every day eatables for fourteen persons, to carry these provisions to a certain stone, and to retire immediately without the least enquiry; threatening him with death, if he gratified his curiofity, and promifing him liberty, liberty, if he behaved faithfully. The Steward every day carried provisions without feeing any body. But he was feen himfelf. Craffus and his people were upon the watch at the time this purveyor was to appear. When he withdrew, what he brought was fetched, and they made good chear. For Vibius had given orders that his guests should be well entertained. Nor were they ill-lodged. The cave was spacious and commodious. It had a spring in it of very clear and good water, and received light by great clefts in many places. Craffus paffed eight months in this retreat. When he received advice of Cinna's death, he made himfelf known: and had foon affembled two thoufand five hundred men, with whom he visited different cities of Spain. But as those forces were not sufficient to support him in the country, he went to Africa, where Metellus Pius had formed a confiderable body of troops. He did not flay there long; but having differed with Metellus, he retired to Sylla, who received him with great distinction.

Metellus himself did no great exploits in A-Metellus frica. He was driven out of it by the Prætor Pius driven out of C. Fabius; and obliged to regain his first re-Africa retreat in the mountains of Liguria, where he tires into remained concealed till the arrival of Sylla. Liguria, He then joined him: and as he had the ti-joins Sylla. the of Proconsul, Sylla treated him as his e-Liv. Epit. qual, and caused the same honours to be paid Appian. him as were paid to himself. Sylla did not arrive in Italy till the year following in the Con-

regard in a sale would all and, and retire to

fulfhip of Scipio and Norbanus.

CAR

L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus. A. R. 660. C. NORBANUS. Ant. C. 83.

If Carbo did not cause himself to be conthe Senate tinued in the Confulship for the third time, he at least took care to give himself successors enfor difbanding tirely devoted to his party. The first use, all the ar which the new Confuls made of their authority, mies Liv. Epict. was to cause the Senate to pass a decree for disbanding all the armies. This was understanding their interests perfectly well. For, if this order had been executed, those who were actually in possession of the Government could not fail of supporting themselves in it. They also took care to make their court to the new citizens; and distributed the freedmen into the thirty-five tribes. These measures of policy were well taken: but only force could decide the quarrel.

Prepara-Confuls against Sylla. Plut. in Sylla.

This they knew; and accordingly drew totions of the gether prodigious numbers of troops; and Sylla wrote in his Commentaries, that when he came to Italy he had fifteen Generals against him, and four hundred and forty cohorts, that is, two hundred and twenty thousand foot. As for him, he had only his five legions, with fome auxiliaries, troops of Achaia and Macedonia, and fix thousand horse; the whole amounting to about forty thousand men. However with fuch unequal forces, he was full of confidence.

Affellion of Sylla's foldiers for sbeir General.

One circumstance troubled him; which was, he was afraid that his foldiers, as foon as they arrived in Italy would disband, and retire to their own homes. They took care to remove that apprehension, by offering voluntarily to

take

take an oath not to abandon their colours, and A. R. 669. to commit no ravages in Italy. And farther, Ant. C. 84. as they believed he might have occasion for money, they proposed to raise him a considerable sum by contribution. But he thanked them for their good will, and declared that their sidelity and attachment were every thing to him.

Sylla fet out from Dyrrachium with a fleet Syllalands of two hundred fail, landed happily, some say in Italy, at Brundusium, and some at Tarentum. Per-and adhaps his fleet was separated, and entered half far as into one port and half into another. He Campania loft no time; and as foon as his troops had rest-without ed, he marched forwards, and croffed great ele. part of Italy, causing so exact a discipline to be observed, that he seemed rather a minister of peace than a leader in war. Cities, Countries, Persons, were all treated with extreme fayour; which did great honour to his arms, and gave birth to an opinion advantagious to his party. The unjust and cruel tyranny of his adversaries had opened his way. Rome and Italy confidered it as not a little for their advantage to change mafters; and despairing of the return of liberty, defired a mild servitude. Sylla penetrated as far as Campania without any opposition: and there Metellus Pius joined him, not with a great reinforcement of troops, but with increase of honour and reputation. For as Metellus was highly efteemed, and paf- Dio apud fed for an excellent citizen, no body doubted, Vales. but that the party he espoused, was the best: and fuch a confederate as him, was worth a great number of others to Sylla.

That General no less an able Captain than a Defeat of great Warriour, desiring to continue to merit Norbanus.

A. R. 669 good-will by pacific cenduct, was no fooner in Ant. C. 83. view of the Conful Norbanus in Campania, than he fent Deputies to him to treat of an accommodation. The Conful behaved brutally, and used Sylla's Deputies ill; he could not have done him more service. Sylla's soldiers conceiving indignation, attacked the army of Norbanus with fuch fury, that they defeated it in an instant. Seven thousand fell upon the fpot : the Camp was taken : the Conful was obliged to fly to Capua; and Sylla loft only an hundred and twenty men. This victory, fo great in itself, was also very important in its consequences. It confirmed Sylla's troops in their attachment for their General: and nothing contributed more to render them faithful to their oath, and to prevent them from thinking of difbanding.

The Capi-

Soon after this action the Capitol was burnt tol burnt. in one night, nor could the incendiaries ever be discovered. It is not easy to believe, that chance was the fole cause of this unhappy event, especially if we observe, that it had been foretold to Sylla. For a flave who pretended to be inspired, came to him in his camp, and after having promifed him victory in the name of the Goddess Bellona; he added, that if he did not make hafte the Capitol would be burnt: and he fixed the day, which actually was, as he had forefold, the fixth of July. This prediction might juftly have indicated an accomplice, or at least a man informed of the plot. The burning of the Capitol paffed for a finister omen, and a proof of the wrath of heaven, as well as many other pretendedly mar-vellous events, which the superfition of the

anci-

ancientest Historians makes them accumulate in A. R. 66a. abundance. As for us we should only despite them, either as fabulous, or as natural accidents, which they interpreted arbitrarily, and which gave terror only as their cause was unknown. The Books of the Sibyl were burnt with the Capitol, which had hitherto been religiously preserved; because it was the general persuasion, that they contained the fate of the Empire.

Sylla's first success must undoubtedly have Cethegus much augmented his partisans. It is at this goes over time, I date after Freinshemius the change of to Sylla. Cethegus, who had formerly been so violent an adversary of Sylla, that he was one of the twelve, who had been declared an enemy of his Country with Marius, and upon whose head a price had been set. This man came now to present himself as a suppliant to Sylla, and to offer him his services in every thing he should direct. He was of an intriguing factious spirit, of whom we shall have occasion to

fpeak again in the fequel.

It is also at the same time we must date the Treachers treachery of Verres, Carbo's Quæstor. Tho' of Verres to Carbo. Carbo was no longer Consul, he had a com-Cic.inVer. mand in Gallia Cisalpina. Verres who had i. 34—40. been given him by lot as Quæstor or Treasurer of the preceding year, received the money, came to the General's camp, and on the first occasion went over to the side of the adverse party, without forgetting the military chest, much of which he appropriated to his own use. It was in this manner this robber, who was one day to ravage Sicily, began with thests and rapine of the most odious dye. For as we have observed elsewhere, the Roman laws established a Vol. X.

A. R. 669 ftrict tie between the Quæftor and his Conful. Ant. C. 83. It was compared to that made by nature between a fon and his father. Thus the infidelity of Verres to Carbo was held infinitely criminah. The traitor coloured it with the pretext of zeal for the better cause. But Gicero shews him what he ought to have done, if that had been his motive, in the example of M. Pifo, who being appointed Quafter to L. Scipio, Carbo's fuccessor in the Consulship, would neither receive the money, nor godto the army; thereby acting conformably to his inclination for the cause of the Nobility, without departing from engagements, that every honest man considered as facred. Werres's conduct is therefore deemed a treafon in the frongest fense; and Cicero shews the enormity of it by maxims entirely judicious. "There (a) ss are, fays he, no fnares more feeres and inst evitable, than those disguised under the out-" fide of friendship and the most facred ties. " For those laid by a declared adversary may e easily be avoided with precaution; wheree as domettic and intestine perfidy is not - only latent, but deffroys before you can fee " or detect it. All men therefore ought to " be shocked at treachery. (b) An chemy " to his own friends is the common enemy of

of the preceding year, received the money, came latent in fimulatione officii, ". 39.
aut in aliquo necessitudinis (b) Omnium est commumodo non extifit, verimo lamico fidenti wat 3859419 etiam opprimit, antequari

(a) Wulle funt occultion profpicere atque explorare res infidiz, quam em que potueris, Cic. l. i. in Vert.

nomine. Nam eum qui pa-or nis inimicus, qui fuit hoffis lam est adversarius, facile ca- suorum, Nemo unguam favendo vitare possis. Hoc piens proditori credendum verò occultum, intessinum, putavit Sylla habuit hoac domesticum malum, non norem ut proditori, non ut

mankind.

mankind. No wife man ever believed he A. R. 669.
ought to trust a traitor. Accordingly Syl-

" la removed Verres from his person; and if

" he afterwards suffered him to enrich himself,

with the persons, he rewarded him as a trai-

tor; but he took care to repose no confi-

dence in him as a friend."

Sylla's first advantage was foon followed Sylla cors by a second still more considerable, and which rupts the cost him lefs. Finding himself incamped op-army of posite to L. Scipio near * Teanum, he entered Plut. & into a fecond negotiation, either in earnest, or, as Appiana is most probable, to amuse him, and have time for debauching his army. The two Generals had an interview, in which fome preliminaries were apparently concluded, as there was a suspension of arms, and hostages given on both fides. Only the Conful faid, that he could conclude nothing without previously confulting his Collegue: and Sertorius was difpatched for that purpose to Norbanus. It was no easy matter to deceive Sertorlus: he advifed Scipio to be upon his guard against the fraud of his enemy; and on his way feeing occasion to feize Suessa, which had espoused the adverse party, he did so, less perhaps with the view of making himself master of an important post, than to disconcert a peace, that he apprehended more than a war. The fequel shewed the justness of his suspicions. Sylla having complained of the taking of Sueffa, as an infraction of the truce, Scipio returned him his hoftages; thereby admitting, that it was wrong, and a breach of his engagements. This fact is a remarkable period, upon which Sylla will animadvert at the time of the profcription and other and wor bills to

Hod. Tiano in the Terra de Laboro.

A. R., 669.

All this conduct of Scipio's prejudiced his Ant. C. 83. army against him, which was already half brought over by the foldiers of the contrary party. For the latter by their General's in-Aruction, and as Plutarch fays, like decoybirds, that draw others into the fnare, had taken the advantage of the truce for corrupting the Conful's troops by money, promises, and every kind of means. In confequence, when Sylla prefented himfelf before the gates of the enemy's camp, they were opened to him; he entered without drawing the fword, and all Scipio's army, that confifted of twenty thousand men, went over to his colours. The Conful deceived by his credulity and abandoned by all, remained alone in his tent with his fon-Sylla made a generous use of his advantages, and gave the two prisoners entire liberty. He treated, either on this, or some other occasion, the brave Sertorius in the same manner; who feeing how affairs were likely to go in Italy, and judging from the incapacity of the Generals, that every thing would go on from bad to worse, he resolved to retire into Spain, of which the command had fallen to him after his Prætorship, and there to secure an asylum both for himself and his friends.

Sertorius goes to Spain.

cerning

Sylla.

Sylla, by the retreat of Sertorius, had the field open: and being rid of the only opponent capable of facing him, if his credit and authority had been as great as his merit, he found no difficulty in overcoming the reft. uniting always artifice with force, and intrigue with the fword. Carbo knew him perfectly Saying of Carbo con- well, and faid, " that in Sylla alone he had a " lion and a fox to deal with; but that he was more afraid of the fox than the lion.

The

The power of Sylla's enemies was however A. R. 669, formidable, and he stood in need of several armies and generals to oppose them. He therefore appointed Crassus to go into the country of the Marsi, to raise troops for him. As it was necessary to pass through the enemy, Crassus asked an escort of him. I give you for Saying of your guard, replied Sylla, your father, brother, Sylla to and all your relations, unjustly slain, and for whom Plut. in I am pursuing revenge. Crassus, struck with so Crasso. pointed a reply, set out immediately, and having boldly and happily passed through the enemy, he arrived in the country of the Marsi, made considerable levies, and did Sylla important services on several occasions.

Another Roman, still younger than Crassus, Pompey at distinguished himself much more. This was twenty-Pompey, who had at that time, being only three years three and twenty years old, shewed that in raises an superior geniuses merit does not depend upon army of maturity of age. He was in * Picenum; and three lefeeing that the most illustrious citizens and in Pomp. most worthy persons repaired from all sides to Sylla's camp, as to a port, where they fought for fafety, for himself he did not think it proper to repair thither, as wanting aid, but on the contrary to head a reinforcement thither, and to be considered upon the foot of an useful friend, and one in a condition to do service. Pi- Diod. acenum abounded with his clients; and he had pud Vales. acquired universal esteem as to military merit, being a stranger to idleness and pleasure, and day and night employed in the exercises necesfary to form a warrior. He was simple, and even auftere, in his manner of life, so as to

* Now called the Marquifate of Aneonia.

M 3

abstain

A. R. 669 abstain from the bath, which in those times Ant. C. 83. was conceived a kind of necessity; and eat not lying upon a bed, as was the custom, but sitting: he gave less time to sleep than nature requires; and, in a word, knew no other recrea-

tion, but change of labour.

Having in confequence acquired a great name by this conduct, as foon as he began to found the inhabitants of Picenum, he found them ready to march under his command; and one Vindius having treated him as a young scholar, that was for affuming the Orator, he was torn in pieces upon the fpor by the audience. Pompey took advantage of this disposition; and without having received authority to command from any one, but making himfelf General, he caused a tribunal to be erected for him in the midst of the Forum of Auximum *: from thence he expelled the Ventidii, the principal citizens of that place, who adhered to Carbo: he then raifed foldiers, divided them into companies and cohorts; and making the tour of the neighbouring cities, all of which anticipated his desires, he soon formed three legions, well supplied with provisions, carriages, and all other necessary munitions. He then fet out to join Sylla, not by halty marches, nor as if he was avoiding the pursuit of an enemy, but halting as much as was commodious. ravaging the lands of the adverse party, and drawing over all those that he could engage.

His first victories. Three armies commanded by three Generals, Brutus, Coelius and Carrinas, concerted together to furround him. Pompey behaved like an able General. He marched with all his

Ant. C. 83.

Antipat

and the time

Pozeth

HEND

forces against Brutus alone and put him to A. R. 669. flight, latter having given proofs of his personal bravery in the battle, and killed a Gaulish horsemany that advanced out of the ranks with his own hands After having midded himfelf of this army, the misunderstanding of the leaders delivered him from the two others, who drew off each a different way. The Conful Scipio. who had taken the advantage of the liberty Sylla had given him for pusting himfelf at the head of a new army, came also against that young General. But he experienced on this occasion the same fortune, he had met with against Sylla: all his troops abandoned him: And laftly, near the river * Esis Pompey defeated a great body of cavalry commanded by Carbo in person. Lydrow-shard

f Sylla knew nothing yet of all thefe fuccesses : He joins and on the first news he received of Pompey's Sylla, who motions, apprehending for a young man with page bim out experience, whom he faw furrounded with nourse enemies, he began his march in order to aid him. When Pompey was apprized of this at some small distance, he commanded his officers to make the foldiers frand to their arms. and to draw them up in the best order, to render the light of them agreeable to Sylla; for he expected to receive great honours from him, and did to beyond his expectation. Accordingly, when Sylla faw him advance towards him with chearful troops, well equipped, and full of courage, and whose victories had inspired them with an air of joy and triumph, he was fo charmed, that when Pompey fallited

* Hod Fiemufino.

A. R. 669 him, as was proper, with the name of * Im-Abt. C. 83 perator, he returned him the fame compliment and title. And he observed the same behaviour to him ever after. Pompey was almost the only one of all the Nobility and illustrious persons about Sylla,, to whom he rose and uncovered himself.

Antipathy between Pompey and Croffus. Plut. in Craff.

These singular honours excited the envy of Craffus, who did not receive the same; and that was the fource of the antipathy, which long prevailed between them. Craffus had however no cause to complain. His services did not equal those of Pompey; and besides his avarice and luft of gain, which vices appeared in him from his earliest youth, and continually increased with age, disgraced every thing he could do of praise-worthy.

Modesty of Pompey for Metellus Pius. Plut. in Pomp.

Pompey did not forget himself in the midst and regard of fo much glory: and Sylla defiring to fend him into Gallia Cifalpina, to fucceed Metellus Pius, who wanted fire in the operations of war, and did not much promote affairs, he had the moderation to represent to him, that it was not confiftent for him to displace a man who was his Superiour both by age and a long established reputation. He added that however if Metellus asked him as a Collegue, he would not refuse to march. The thing was executed according to this plan; and Pompey when he arrived in Gaul, not only did great actions himself, but by his activity animated, and warmed the flowness of Metellus.

neral: and in a firiter sense, was a title of bonour given to those who had gained some

This word fignifies Ge- confiderable willory. It is in this second sense Sylla uses it to Pompey.

In the mean time the new Confuls Marius Ju-A. R. 669, nior and Carbo entered upon office, the latter Carbo Conof whom then refumed the fasces for the third ful for the time. Marius was very young, and the au-third rime thors, who give him most years, make him with Mebut twenty-fix or twenty-feven. Nothing was Velli. 26, more irregular than that election. But laws Appian. were unregarded. The young Confuls's mo-Auct. de ther had the fense to lament that untimely ho in Mar. nour, which she forefaw would prove fatal to Filio. a very great minder of actions be luner enolyted

hom Col Mar vost ret i atiologie nwo Folly & O. R. 640. CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO III. S DOS 311 TOO THE Ant. C. 82.

This year, or during the preceding, Muraena, who had been left by Sylla in Afia, as we have faid, renewed the war with Mithridates. I refer

-Salta, always incor upon leftening the num-

location a very few. I that confine anyielf

speaking of it to another place.

A detached fact shall have its place here. Fabius the C. Fabius, who had driven Metellus Pius from Prator is Africa, where he governed as Prætor, a fit burnt in bis palace minister for the Marii and Carbo's, made him- at Utica. felf fo odious by his rapines, cruelties, and Freinsh. the horrible scheme of raising the slaves, and lxxxvi. 3. inducing them to murder their mafters, that the Roman citizens, fettled in great numbers in Utica, burnt him alive in his own palace. And this violence was considered only as a just revenge, on the occasion of which there was neither information nor profecution at Rome.

Perhaps the Romans were too much engroffed by the calamities they were under, to think of a remote affair. For the civil war continued in Italy with more fury than ever; and the Confuls wanting money to pay their troops, caused the Senate to pass a decree for coining

A. R. 670 all the gold and filver ornaments in the temples

I shall not expatiate upon the advantages eagergain gained by the Lieutenants of Sylla, Metellus, at hy Syl-Pompey, Crassus, and M. Lucilius, the brother of him, of whom we have spoke more than once before, and who was actually in Asia. We have little account of all those facts. Let it suffice for me to observe, that Sylla's party was almost every where victorious, and that in a very great number of actions he suffered some loss only in a very sew. I shall confine myself to Sylla's own exploits; for they are the most

important and affecting of authoral wil

Sylla, always intent upon lessening the numa treaty
with the
States of
Italy. Hi, the rights and privileges of Roman citizens,
Confidence. which had been granted them. This treaty.
Liv. Epit. which drew off so great a number of adherents
from the faction of Marius, was not one of the
least proper measures for augmenting the confidence, which Sylla had of overcoming; and which
was so great that when Orators applied to him

in behalf of their clients, he referred the hear-

ing their affair, till he should be at Rome; and

this whilft his adversaries bore sway in the city,

Massacres The Consul Marius thought in the same mandecreed by ner, and did not doubt but Sylla would be vioted Consul Marius, torious in the end. This was a motive to inmarius, and execu duce him to commit the most horrible barbated.

rity, and apprehending, that those he design-Vell.ii.26 ed to destroy might cleape him, he hastened Appian. his tevenge while it was still in his power. The Presetor Brutus Damasippus commanded in Rome in the absence of the Consuls, who had both

both left it to put themselves at the head of the A. R. 670. armies. Marius wrote to that Prætor from his Ant. G. 82. camp, to order him to maffacre the heads of Sylla's faction, that is, the principal persons of the Senate and Nobility. Damasippus was an abandoned wretch, devoted to all the excelles of the party he had embraced. He accordingly made no scruple to execute that inhuman Barrie of order, and uniting perfidy with cruelty, he Sections. affembled the Senate under some pretext, and ed ,tes afterwards caused murderers to enter, who butchered a very great number of the Senators. Water Street History has preserved the names of four of the principal, Carbo Arvina, a near relation of Carbo, Conful of the year of which we are relating the events, and the only one of that family who was a good citizen in Cicero's opi-Cic, ad nion, P. Antiftius, Pompey's father-in-law, Fann. IX. L. Domitius, and lattly Q. Scavola the Pon-21. tifex Maximus.

That venerable old man had rightly foreseen, Death of that he had no other fate to expect. But at-Scavola tached as he was to the strictest observance of the Ponti-every duty, though he deemed Sylla's the better party, he could not approve violence and civil war; and he said, that he chose rather to expose himself to perishing by the sword of his Cic. adentences, than to come in arms to assault the Art. VIII. walls of his country. When he saw himself 3 upon the point of being attacked, he endeavoured to say, and even got to the porch of Vesta's temple. But the murderers overtook and killed him.

Damasippus, according to the barbarous custom established during some time at Rome, extended his cruelty even beyond the deaths of these illustrious personages. The body of Carbo

A. R. 670. Carbo Arvina, whose head had been cut off. was placed upon a gibbet, and carried through the city. The rest were dragged with hooks through the streets, and thrown into the Tiber. The wife of Antiffius, who was called Calpurnia, through excess of grief for the unhappy

death of her husband, killed herself.

Battle of Sacriportus, in which Marius is defeated by Sylla. Signi, + Paleftrina. Plut. in Syll. & Appian.

These cruelties did not long precede the entire defeat of Marius by Sylla. The battle was fought near a place called Sacriportus between Signia and + Præneste. The night before it Sylla had a dream, which gave him great hopes. He believed, that he faw old Marius bidding his son beware of the next day, as of one, that was to be unfortunate to him. Sylla in confequence, prejudiced as he was in favour of omens, dreams, and every kind of divination, defired extremely to fight. But his foldiers, when they came in view of the enemy, were so fatigued by a long march they had made in a great rain, that they threw themselves upon the ground, lying upon their shields in order to rest. Sylla therefore was obliged to order, that they should intrench, and they immediately began to em-ploy themselves in forming a camp. But Marius coming on to attack them with haughtiness and menaces, whilft they were at work, those old foldiers believed themselves insulted. Indignation made them find new strength: and planting their half pikes upon the fide of the trench they had already dug, they advanced against the enemy fword in hand. was warm. But Marius's left wing foon beginning to give way, five cohorts and two fquadrons went over to Sylla. This defertion difcouraged the reft: in a moment the flight became general, and all endeavoured to retire to Præneste.

Præneste. Sylla pursued them with vigour ; A.R. 679. infomuch that the People of Præneste appre- Ant. C. 62. hended, that he would enter the city with those that fled, and thut their gates. It was here that the greatest Claughter was made. Marius, who on arriving found the gates thut, was drawn into the city over the walls with a cord. Sylla in his Commentaries faid, that he loft only twenty three foldiers in this action, and that he killed twenty thousand of the enemy, and made eight thousand prisoners. Of those prifoners all the Samnites were put to the fword by his order: he confidered that nation as the implacable enemy of the Roman name.

The city of Præneste was very strong; and Siege of it was necessary to besiege it in form. Sylla Praneste. gave the command of that siege to Lucretius Ofella, who some little time before had quitted Carbo's party to come over to his. Appian fays, that this Ofella was only a Roman Knight: Velleius affirms, that he had been However it were, it appears that he was an obscure person, and that it was solely on account of his obscurity Sylla gave him that important command. For Dio observes, that Diodapud Sylla began now to take off the mask, and that Vales. instead of expressing, as he had done hitherto, the highest regard for the Nobility, that furrounded him, and constituted the glory and ftrength of his party, as foon as he faw himfelf Superior to his affairs, he neglected them, and preferred persons of no birth to them, who came in more readily to his views, and did not share with him in the honour of successes. A conduct full of ingratitude, but too common with the ambitious, who regard persons only in proportion to the occasion they have for them, and

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A. R. 670. as foon as they can do without them, reckon Ant. C. 82. fervices received as nothing.

Sylla is received Appian.

Whilft Lucretius Ofella belieged Marius in Præneste, Sylla marched towards Rome, perinto Rome. celving of what importance it was to him to take the capital of the empire from his enemies, and confidering that conquest with reason as the fruit of all his other victories. He was received into it without difficulty. There was a famine in the city; where to many fucceffive viciffitudes in a small number of years had accustomed the people to Submit to the law of the strongeft. All Sylla's adversaries had fled on his approach. He caused their estates to be fold by auction; and having affembled the people, he deplored the necessity he was in of reveng-ing himself by arms: he exhorted all the citizens to take courage, and promifed them, that in a little time trangpillity should be reestablished in the city, and the government placed upon its ancient foot. Fine promifes. that his actions foon grossly belied.

Vain efforts to [uccour Pranefle. Norbanus abandon Italy.

During this, Marius's party put themselves in motion to fuceour Prænefte, but that was to no purpose. Sylla, either by himself or his Lieutenants, on every occasion defeated the different and Carbo bodies of troops, who attempted to aid it. And these defeats being continually repeated, the principal chiefs despaired entirely of fucces, and abandoned Italy. Norbanus retired to Rhodes, and Carbo to Africa. They however left behind them formidable forces; and besides feveral Roman Generals, an army of forty thoufand Lucanians and Samnites, commanded by three valiant and experienced Generals, M. Lamponius, Pontius Telefinus, and Gutta of Capua, gave Sylla terrible alarms.

That

That army, joined by Carrinus, Damalip, A. R. 670.
pus, and fome other heads of the fame party, Last battle had attempted ineffectually to force the defiles, fought at through which it was necessary to pass, in order the gates to approach Prænefte, and which were guarded of Rome, by Sylla. At length feeing Sylla in front, and Sylla and knowing that Pompey was coming on to take the Samthem in the rear, Telefinus, a great Captain nites. and a man of ability, formed the defign of Sylla. marching to attack Rome, which was actually without defence; and he was very near fucceeding in it. For having fet out in the night, he concealed his march fo dexteroully from his adversaries, that he arrived at half a league from the city, on the fide of the gate Collina, without meeting any obstacle, highly elate and proud of having over-reached fo many Generals. The consternation was as great in Rome, as formerly, when Hannibal was at the gates; and the danger was not less. Nothing was seen, but people running about in confusion, nor heard but the lamentable cries of women and children, who deplored their misfortune, and apprehended every thing that can be feared by a city taken by ftorm. At day-break the flower of the Roman youth quitted the city on horseback, in order to reconnoitre the enemy, and to skirmish. Many were killed, and amongst others one Ap. Claudius. At length Balbus fent by Sylla with feven hundred horse appeared in light. He had advanced full speed; and having taken breath but a few moments, he immediately moved on to harrass and annuse the Samnites, till Sylla's arrival, who actually came up foon after with his whole army, and who as the troops arrived, made them refresh themfelves in hafte, and drew them up at the same 100 10 2%

A. R. 670 time in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquatus, two of the principal Officers, reprefented to him, that it would be most expedient Posterol ast. not immediately to expose the troops to a battle, fatigued with a long march. He gave no ear to them, and caused the charge to be sounded. It was the first of November, at three in the afternoon.

The battle was one of the rudest. Hatted exalted the courage of the foldiers on both fides: and never was interest greater, as the fate of the city of Rome was the question, before which they fought. Sylla's right-wing, commanded by Crassus, was entirely victorious; but it removed from the field of battle, and purfued the enemy a great way. The left, in which was the General in person, suffered exceedingly, and found it difficult to keep their ground. Sylla did not spare himself: he went from rank to rank, mounted on a fine white horse, full of fire, and very swift. Two of the enemy knew him, and prepared to difcharge their javelins at him. Happily his fquire perceived them, and giving his mafter's horse a ftroke with a whip, he made him fpring forwards fo luckily, that the two javelins fell at fome distance behind the horse.

In the mean time Telefinus encouraged his Samnites, crying out to them, "(a) that this " was the last day of the Romans; that it was necessary, to take and ruin their city; " that they should never be delivered from those voracious wolves, if their den were

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lendamque urbem : nun- lerent, effet excifa. Vell. 11, quam defuturos raptores I. 27. 198 offen ni coviel

⁽a) Adesse Romanis ulti-mum diem : eruendam de-sylva, in quam refugere so-

not destroyed." Sylla was then in greater A. R. 67d. danger than ever he had been during his life. Whether through superstition, or to make his troops refume courage, he took out of his bofom a small figure of Apollo Pythius, which he had brought from Delphi, and always carfied about him: and kiffing it, and addreffing himself to it, "O Apollo, said he, after having rendered the fortunate Sylla victorious on fo many occasions, have you brought him to the gates of his country, only that he may perish there shamefully with his " fellow citizens?" At the same time he animated his troops to behave well, with prayers, menaces, and even taking some of them by the arm to face about. Every thing was ineffectual: the confusion increased continually; and himself drawn along with those who sled, was obliged to give way before the victorious enemy, having loft a great number of persons of distinction. Many, who had quitted Rome to be spectators of the battle, paid dearly for their curiofity, and were either killed or crushed to death. The alarm was fo great, that the fiege of Præneste was very near being raised; because some were carried that way by the flight, who told Lucretius Ofella, that all was loft, that Sylla was conquered; and the city of Rome was taken.

Sylla at length recovered the superiority, without our being able to say in what manner, for want of sufficient accounts. What we know vell. it, is, that after an hour in the night, the Romans 17. began to respire, and the Samnites to have the disadvantage; that the armies sought till very late in the night; that Pontius Telesinus was mortally wounded, and sound the next day Vol. X.

A. R. 670. upon the field of battle, being still alive, and Ant. C. 82. retaining the haughty air, which even the approaches of death could not make him lofe. His camp was taken; and his army cut to pieces and dispersed. For Sylla had forbade giving

them any quarter.

Strabo. V. 249. Plut.

When the night was very far advanced, Sylla received news of Crassus, who had pursued the enemy as far as the city of Antemnæ, above two leagues beyond Rome. He asked refreshments for his foldiers, who had incamped on the very spot, where they had given over the pursuit. He would have spared his General much danger and anxiety, if after having put the enemy's wing, that opposed him, to flight, he had only fent after them some troops to pravent them from rallying, and had returned with the best part of his forces to the aid of the left wing of the Romans.

Change in Sylla's manners.

This victory of Sylla's gave the last blow to Marius's party, and the league of the allies: (a). and the victor would have been the most fortunate and most glorious of mankind, if he had ceased to live the day he had compleated his conquests. But he disgraced his victory by the vilest and most detestable cruelties: which must appear the more aftonishing, as hitherto he had acted with moderation and lenity, and was naturally even gay and facetious; a character, that does not feem to denote a disposition to become cruel. On the contrary, he had appeared compassionate, and had been seen frequently to soften even into tears. For as to Marius, he was cruel by nature; and supreme power had only

⁽a) Feligis nomen ufur- & vincendi & vivendi finem paffet justiffime, fi eumdem habuisset. Vell. 11. 27. increased.

increased, and not changed, his disposition. A. R. 670. This was not the same with respect to Sylla: and his (a) example suffices to decry prosperity and absolute power, for rendering men proud, infolent, and inhuman; whether it really changes their manners, or only discovers those vices, which would otherwise remain concealed.

The first stroke by which he evidenced the Six thoutafte he had conceived for cruelty, was the Sand primurdering of fix or feven thousand prisoners. foners are Three thousand men after the battle having of- by bis fered to furrender to him, he promifed them order. their lives, if they would deferve that grace by attacking their companions, who were not yet defeated. They did fo; and in the fight that enfued, many having been killed on both fides. all that remained of the two bodies to the number of fix thousand men surrendered to him upon his parole. He affembled them all in the fame place, giving them hopes that he would distribute them into his legions. But he ordered, that they should be massacred at the time, that he was holding the Senate in the temple of Bellona not far from that place. And this action fo horrible in itself is not the most fhocking circumstance relating to the affair. On the terrible cry raifed by those wretches when they faw themselves on the point of being butchered, the whole Senate expressing concern, Sylla never changed countenance, but with a

(α) Εικότως προσετρίψαδο ταις μεγάλαις εξασίαις δια-Εολήν, ως τα ήθη μένειν έκ εώσαις επὶ τῶν εξ άρχης τρόπων, άλλ εμπληκία η χαύνα κ) απάιθρωπα ποιέσαις.— είτε κίνησις έξι η μείαδολή Φυσίως υπό τύχης, είτε μάλι λοι υποκειμένης, αποκάλυψες is εξουσία καπίως. Plut. in Sylla: A. R. 670-cool air and a tranquillity scarce to be expected Ant. C. 84. from a tyrant inufed in blood from his infancy; (a) Fathers, faid he to the Senators, favour me with your attention; it is only a small number of seditious, that are putting to death by my order.

Rome filled ders. Salluft. Catil. n. 31.

Harrie

This slaughter was a kind of signal for the with mur-murders, with which the city was filled the following days. One of the first victims of Sylla's vengeance was the cruel Damasippus, whose death all the world approved. If the victor had destroyed only such pests of the publick, the joy of the people had been universal. But he inveterately purfued all the remains of the conquered party: besides which, those about him, and such as had most credit with him, ridded themselves by his authority and consent, either of their personal enemies, or even of those, whose fortunes they defired.

Profcription. Plut. Syll. Oraft. V. 21. Flor. III.

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21.

In the midst of so many horrors, the Senate being affembled, murmurs and complaints were vented: and Q. Catulus, the fon of him whom. Marius had caused to be put to death, ventured to raise his voice and to say aloud: How then are we to live, if we kill those in battle who bave arms in their bands, and in peace those who bave none? A young man called C. Metellus went farther; and addressing himself to Sylla in person, he asked him what end the publick calamities were to have. For, added he, we do not feek to fave those you have condemned to perish; but it is just that those, whose lives you intend to spare, should be put out of their pain. Sylla having replied, that he had not yet determined

⁽a) Hoc agamus, P. C. occiduntur. Sen. de Clero. Seditiofi pauculi meo justu 1.12.

who those were, to whom his grace should A.R. 670. extend, one Fursidius, a mean man and an abject slatterer, took upon him to speak thus:

Well then, let us know, who those are you have condemned. Sylla replied, he would do so: and in this manner was introduced that proscription, which even now strikes us with horror af-

ter fo many ages.

For the next day Sylla, without taking the Plut. advice of any of the persons in office, caused a lift of fourfcore names to be made out, and fixed upon the Forum, at the head of which were the two Confuls of the year, Carbo and Marius; then Scipio and Norbanus; who had been Confuls the year before; next Sertorius; and laftly all those who had diftinguished themselves most amongst the enemies of the victorious party. The next day came out a new lift of two hundred and twenty; and the third of a like number. And Sylla haranguing the people upon this head, told them, that he had profcribed such as he remembered, and that in proportion as others should occur to his Appian. memory, he would profcribe them. He added, that he would pardon none of his enemies, and that he would treat with the utmost rigour all those, who, from the day Scipio had broken the treaty with him and his promise, had done the contrary party any service, either in commanding armies, or as Quæstors or Tribunes of the foldiers, or in a word in any manner whatfoever.

We see here the extent he gave his revenge, and how great the number of criminals was to be. Search was made after them both in Rome, and throughout all Italy. It was a crime to have carried arms under Carbo, Norbanus, or Ma-

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rius :

A. R. 679 rius; to have paid the taxes they had imposed: Ant. C. 32 in a word, to have aided them either with counsel, provisions, or money. The ties of friendship and hospitality, common interest in affairs, to have lent or borrowed money of any one of Sylla's enemies; fufficed for being condemned. We must observe, that it was principally against the rich, that all these heads of acculation were made to take place. After this account, it is easy to conceive, that the number Val. Max. of the profcribed increased to such a degree, that it was made to amount to four thousand seven IX. 2. hundred, of which two thousand were Knights. and Senators. And the tyrant was fo far from being ashamed of such detestable barbarity, that he caused the names of this multitude of the profcribed to be inferted in the pub-

rity.

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The edict of proscription punished compassion and humanity as crimes, making it death to receive a proscribed person, or to give him refuge, without excepting father, brother, or fon. On the contrary two talents were promifed to the affaffins as a reward for each murder, though it should be even a slave, that should kill his master, or a son his father. Besides which, the estates of the proscribed were confiscated, and, what seemed the most unjust, their fons and grandfons were declared incapable of possessing any office. This last circumstance has been much censured by many writers: but none have painted it with more force than Sallust, who makes Lepidus speak to this fathe ims under Carbo, Norbanus, or Ma-

lick Registers; as if the question had been some glorious exploit, of which it was necessary to transmit the remembrance to poste-

Plut.

tul's

effect. (a) Sylla was the only one, since the crea-A. R. 670. tion of man, that conceived punishments for those Ant. C. 82, not yet in being; for whom injury was provided

and fixed, even before life it felf.

The profcription was not confined to Rome : it was extended, as we have faid, to all the cities of Italy: and neither temple, private dwelling, nor father's house, was a place of safety. Husbands were butchered in their wives arms, and sons in those of their mothers. Even wives were included in this fatal slaughter, and given up to the swords of the murderers. And the number of those, who were sacrificed to revenge and resentment, was very short of such as were proscribed upon account of their riches. The assalins themselves frequently said, that such an one owed his condemnation and death to a fine house that he possessed; another to his gardens; and a third to his hot baths.

Plutarch in particular cites one Q. Aurelius, a peaceable man, who never intermeddled in any affairs, who had no other share in the calamities of his country than the compassion, which he felt for the misfortunes of others. This man having applied himself to read the list of the proscribed, only out of curiosity, perceived his own name in it. Unfortunate man! cried he; it is my estate at Alba, that proscribes me: and some paces from thence his throat was

coemdhau

Another found himself in the same case, but Diodor. with an effential difference: this was, that he apud. insulted the unfortunate, and vented his malig-

(a) Quin solus omnium posuit, qu'is prius injuria post memoriam hominum qu'am vita certa esset. Sall. Hist. 1.

A. R. 670 nant and odious reflections on every name he read (a). The divine justice, as Diodorus Siculus observes, punished him for it in the fact. His own name was upon the fatal lift. When he faw it, he was struck dumb, and was for making off by stealth; but he was discovered,

and put to the fword.

Cruelties mus. Plut.

> Sen. de Ira. III.

IX. 2.

Historians have left us few accounts of the of Catili- particular facts, which relate to this proscrippunishment tion. What we know of most circumstantial, of Marius are the exploits of Catilina, who now first Gratidia- commenced to perpetrate the greatest crimes, He began by killing his brother, and afterwards prevailed on Sylla to have him inferted amongst the proscribed. To express his gratitude for this horrible favour, he charged himfelf with the punishment of M. Marius Gratidianus, whom (b) Sylla had condemned to be Val. Max. facrificed upon the tomb of Catulus, a man of great lenity, and who would have been very far from defiring such a revenge. But this was by way of reprizal for the death of L. Cæfar, murdered fome years before by the contrary faction on the tomb of Q. Varius.

The unfortunate Gratidianus, who had been almost adored by the Roman People, was in consequence dragged through the streets of Rome to the other fide of the Tiber, and whipped with rods by executioners all the way, When he came to the place of punishment, Catilina caused his eyes to be pulled out, his hands and tongue to be cut off, the bones of

⁽a) "Eiga di daiporioy τινός ιέμε σις τω διασύροι]: την των ακληρώθων τύχην, έπε-δημε την πρέπυσαν τη κακία Tipupiar. Diod.

⁽b) Catilina M. Marium ante buftum Q. Catuli carpebat, gravislimus mitislimi viri cineribus. Senec,

his thighs to be broken, and after having for . A. R. 670. mented him in this manner in every part of Ant. C. 82. his body, chell put an end to his punishment and life, by cutting off his head. A Senator, who was present at this horrible fight, having been taken ill and fwooning away, was killed and the upon the fpot. Catilina took the head of Gratidianus bleeding fresh, and brought it to Sylla's feet in the Forum: after which to add impiety to inhumanity, he went to wash his hands at the font of purifying water in the Temple of Apolloons, which are to be all odd

Catilina deferved reward from Sylla. He was accordingly placed at the head of the Gaulish foldiers, who performed most of these cruel executions. With their aid he destroyed a great number of the Knights of greatest distinction, amongst whom was Q. Cæcilius his brother-in-law, whom he killed with his own hand in miner of existing reliance to periffer in brand

Cicero gives us also a circumstance, which Oppianieus will shew in what manner private revenges gratifieshis were practifed under the colour of Sylla's. Op privaterepianicus, a Roman Knight of the city of La-der favour rinum in Apulia, a man who had committed of the prothe greatest crimes, having caused his wife's cription. brother to be affassinated, that his own Son Cluent. might have the fole inheritance of a grandmother's estate, was threatened by the relations of the deceased, that if they could discover proofs, they would profecute him juridically. That wretch repaired to Rome and got a commission from Sylla; and when he returned to Larinum with foldiers, he caused all who had threatened to accuse him to be put to death. of

CWEVEL

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short Sub-. . . . Sacron.

Cal. 1.

Plut, Carl.

A. R. 670. No body can doubt but so many cruelties Ant. C. 81.
Cate at the must infinitely prejudice people against their ageoffour-author. But fear suppressed all other fentiteen, defires ments; and the haughty Romans, the fuperb to kill Syl-rulers of nations, grouned themselves shameful-Plut. Cat. ly in flavery under the most merciles Tyrant

that ever was. Only one child is to be quoted in these times as an example of generofity. Cato, then fourteen years old, feemed the fole person who retained the ancient principles of his country, and a Roman heart. Sylla was the friend of his family, and gave him admittance to vifit him fometimes. This was a fingular favour; and young Cato's Præceptor, a prudent man who knew, how honourable and advantagious this diffinction was for his pupil often carried him to Sylla's house. Every thing there breathed horror: nothing was feen but bleeding heads, brought thither from all parts, or unhappy citizens, to perish in torments. The boy, ftruck with this horrid fight, and feeing every body groaning in fecret, afked his tutor, why no body killed fuch a tyrant. It is, replied he, because be is still more feared than bated. Why then, replied the child, have you not given me a fword, that I might kill the tyrant, and deliver my country Cafarpro- from flavery. He uttered those words with a tone of voice, and an aspect, that made

feribed and faved by the interceffion of powerful friends. Sylla's words on

that Subjett. Sueton.

Cæf. 1. Plut. Cæf.

that no body elfe dared to think of, all no Amongst those, who escaped the proscriptions no name is fo famous as that of Cæfar, who was then but eighteen years old. I have already faid, that he was the nephew of Marius's wife.

Sarpedon tremble. So his Master was called.

who from thenceforth was very watchful of his

pupil, left he should undertake a bold thing,

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wife, and confequently coufin german of young A. B. 670. Marius, then Consul. He had contracted a new engagement with that party, by marrying the daughter of Cinna, whom all the power of the conqueror Sylla could not induce him to repudiate. He was therefore obliged to hide himself, and though he had actually the quartan ague, to change his retreat almost every night. He was even on one occasion disco-vered by Sylla's guards: but he extricated himself out of their hands by great gifts of money. He had powerful friends, that folicited for him. Sylla however long continued inflexible. At length as they preffed hims and asked what he could fear from a child: (a) You will have it fo, faid Sylla. Well I grant it. But take notice I tell you that you fave the future destroyer of our work, and of the whole party of the nability. For in that boy I see many Marius's. Never was prediction more exactly verified: and it proves that Sylla had great penetration, and knew mankind extremely well. Another faying is related of him to the same effect in respect to Cæsar, who in his youth affected great effeminacy, affumed the airs of a coxcomb, and always were his girdle very loofe. (b) Sylla was not deceived by this foft outfide, and used frequently to fay, Have a care of that loofe-girded boy; be is far from being what he would appear. Clemency to Cæsar was in a manner extorted out of Sylla.

optimatium partibus. quas præcinctum puerum cave-se eum simul defendissent, exitig futurum : nam Cæfari

232 5

(a) Vincerent, ac fibi ha- multos Marios ineffe. Suet. berent : dummodo scirent (b) Unde emanasse Syllæ eum quem incolumen tanto- dictum (ferunt) optimates pere cuperent, quandoque fæpius admonentis, ut malè A. R. 670. However Cæfar was obliged to remove from Ant, C. 82. Italy, and he went to Alia to make his first

campaigns under Minucius Thirmus.

fiege of Prænefte. Death of rius. Appian. Plut, in Epit.

End of the In the mean time the fiege of Præneste ended, and supplied new matter for Sylla's eruelty. He had fent thither to Lucretius young Ma- Ofella his Lieutenant the head of Telefinus. killed at the battle of Porta Collina, and those of the two Roman Commanders, Car-Syll. Liv. rinas and Marcius, massacred by his orders after the battle : he also sent him the head of Gratidianus; infomuch that the belieged feeing, they had loft all their Leaders, and knowing the defertion of Norbanus and Carbo. having no resource, they chose to open their gates, to the Victor. The Conful Marius however would not furrender himfelf: but having endeavoured to make his escape through vaults, that led from the city into the country, and finding the outlets closed and guarded by foldiers, he fought with young Telefinus, the brother of him of whom we have been speaking. Their defign was to deliver themselves both at once by an honourable death from the punishments Sylla prepared for them. But Marius after having killed his friend, finding himself only wounded, ordered one of his slaves to make an end of him. His head was carried to Sylla, who caused it to be set up upon the Tribunal of Harangues, and who on looking at it insulted the youth of that Consul, who should have learnt, faid he, to bandle the oar, before be undertook to manage the belm.

Plut. in Marco.

Llowever

Young Marius had scarce shewn himself an imitator of his father, except in respect to his cruelty. For the rest, after having at first shewn some signs of bravery, which had even caused

caused him to be called the son of Mars, he de-A.R. 670. parted so much from his first essays, that he Ant. C. 82. deserved rather to be called the son of Venus.

It is however observed, as a proof of the sella afhigh idea Sylla had of that young enemy, that Jumes the he did not assume the surname of Happy, till he surname of had got rid of him. But I do not find this vell. II. observation and precise date in any author, but 27. one, whose credit is not entirely to be re-Plut in lied on. It is however true, that Sylla, who Sulla. Appian. during his whole life thought it for his honour, as we have observed, to be favoured by fortune, and to be what is called a fortunate man, folemnly affumed that furname about this time; infomuch that he caused himself to be called L. Cornelius Sylla Falix; and in writing to the Greeks, or in the Edicts, which were to be translated into the Greek tongue, he rendered the word Falix by that of Emappoditos, as much as to fay beloved by Venus. And his wife Metella having lain in of twins, a fon and a daughter, he caused the one to be called Faustus, and the other Fausta, that is Happy or Fortunate in the different genders. What good-fortune is this? Can that of a man covered with the blood of his country, and who had rendered himself the horror of humanrace, deserve that name?

As soon as the city of Præneste was taken, Massacre Sylla went thither. Lucretius had already executed by caused several Senators of Marius's party to be Sylla in killed, whom he had found in that city. Sylla Præneste compleated the affair and condemned those to die whom his Lieutenant had imprisoned. He afterwards ordered all the persons in Præneste to be divided into three bands, Romans, Prænestini, and Samnites. He told the Romans

they

A. R. 670 they had deserved death; but that he would pardon them in confideration of their common country. As to the Prænestini, he began by examining the different cases in which they might be, in order to regulate his conduct accordingly. Then finding the discussion would take up too much of his time, he ordered, that they should be all massacred with the Samnites. none of whom he ever pardoned. He excepted only one of the Prænestini, which was the person, in whose house he lodged. But that generous man, faying that he would not be indebted for his life to the butcher of his fellow citizens, threw himself into the midst of them, and was put to the fword with the reft. The number of those who perished on this occasion amounted, according to Plutarch, to twelve thousand. Only the women and children were spared. The city was plundered by the troops, and the territory conficated for the benefit of the Roman People.

Cities pro- It did not fuffice Sylla to proferibe private Scribed, fold and demolished by Sylla. Hor. III. 21.

their citadels, and loaded with taxes and fines, many were fold by auction with their territories; Præneste, of which we have just been speaking, Spoletum, Interanna, Florence. He caused the city of Sulmo in the country of the Volsci to be proceeded against juridically, and condemned to be demolished. He exercised the fame rigour against the cities of the Sam-

persons; he proscribed whole cities. Not to-

mention those whose walls he demolished with

nites: and Strabo affirms, that in his time they were only either villages, or lay entirely in ruins; and amongst others, he mentions Bovi-

anum, Eternia, and Telefia.

Voil -

Strab. c. V. p. 249. Italy was reduced, and no body in it made A. R. 670. any farther relistance against Sylla. But there Pompey is still remained great wrecks of the conquered sent into party dispersed in the Provinces, Perperna in Sicily to Sicily, Carbo and Domitius in Africa, and pursue the remains of Sertorius in Spain. As to the latter, it cost the conmany efforts and years to destroy him: we quered shall speak of him at large in the sequel party. Pompey was sent by Sylla in pursuit of the rest.

As foon as he appeared in Sicily, Perperna Plat, in retired, and Carbo came of himself to surren-Pomp. & der. For having fet out from Africa with fe-Appian. veral Senators and other persons of note, who had continued faithful to him, and having advanced to the illand of * Coffura, to endeavour to get certain intelligence from Italy, he detached L. Brutus in a fishing-boat, with orders to go to Lilybæum and inform himfelf, whether Pompey was in Sicily. The boat was feized, and Brutus feeing that he could not efcape, killed himself, by laying the handle of his fword against the bench of the rowers, and throwing himself upon the point with the whole weight of his body. Pompey being Death of apprized, that Carbo was in the island of Carbo. Coffura, fent to take him, with all that accompanied him: and caused them immediately to be put to death, except Carbo, in refpect to whom he acted in the manner, that justly deserved the imputation of pride and inhumanity. Indeed, fays Plutarch, he could scarce have dispensed with depriving him of life. But every body blamed a young man of Val. Man. twenty-four, and only a Roman Knight, for V. 3, 5. or steadstoors or oxygetes see ad it based grave P. Plut.

A. R. 670 having caused a Consul to be dragged before Ant. C. 82. him, then actually invested with that supreme dignity for the third time, and who had even formerly done him fervice in the cause he had to defend concerning the honour and fortunes of his father. Pompey inveighed from his tribunal against that unfortunate person prostrate at his feet; and afterwards ordered him to be led to execution. Carbo shewed as much cowardice in dying, as he had cruelty and infolence during his prosperity. To gain a few miserable moments of life, he pretended a cholick, that obliged him to go afide a little; but as he stayed there too long, a foldier went and cut off his head in that wretched afvlum. That head was fent to Rome to be presented vous to Sylla: mord seemed lister mariss say of mov

Death of The death of Q. Valerius Soranus drew also Soranus. reproaches upon Pompey; and he would deferve them, if the facts were certain. Soranus was a person of condition, and had been Prætor; befides which, he was the most learned of the Romans, and perfectly versed as well in Philosophy, as in what related to the rights and ceremonies of the Religion of his country. Pompey, fays an author, after having asked him abundance of questions in walking with him, and having got out of him what he wanted to know, ordered him to be executed. This manner of acting is undoubtedly vile and perfidious. But it is related by C. Oppius, Cæfar's friend, and therefore justly Pompey's to be suspected in regard to Pompey. And lenity. Is indeed Plutarch affirms, that he sent himself with reluctance and through force to Sylla's revenge, and if he was obliged to put those to death, who were taken in the fight and with

the

gaived

the knowledge of the publick, he shut his A. R. 670.
eyes to many, who lay hid in different retreats, and even aided some to make their
escapes.

He did more, and ventured to act with generolity on a conspicuous occasion. He had refolved to chartife the city of Himera, which had followed Marius's party. The principal Generofity person of that city, whose name was Sthenius, of Sthenius; came to him, and earnestly defired him not to inflict upon an innocent multitude the punishment due only to one criminal. And who is that criminal? faid Pompey. Why me, replied Sthenius. I am the only one, who engaged my fellow-citizens in the party opposite to yours. I brought my friends into it by persuasion; and compelled my enemies to enter into it by force. In consequence I alone am responsible for a fault, rubich I alone committed. Pornpey judged, that a man of fuch heroick courage, was more worthy of his friendship than punishment; and not only pardoned him, but the whole city on his account.

The rest of his conduct was of a piece with Pompey's this, and Sicily had great reason to be satisfied entirely with him in every respect. Justice had been conduct it suspended there a great while, no doubt be-sicily. cause the civil wars prevented that island from Diod. enjoying the necessary tranquillity. Pompey apud judged both the differences between cities, and the causes of particulars, with perfect understanding and equity. He only spoke with haughtiness to the Mamertines, who were for declining his Tribunal, and alledged their privileges. Laws are not to be pleaded, faid he to them, to a man who has arms in his hands. This discourse was losty; but his actions were Vol. X. guided

A. R. 670 guided by justice; besides which the great purity of his manners, and remoteness from the frantick pleasures to which youth is so violently prone, drew admiration upon him. He also took care, that oppressions, from which he abstained himself, should not be practised by those under his command. He carried that conduct into a singular precaution with respect to the soldiers. For having been informed, that they dipersed upon marches to plunder, he caused their swords to be sealed at the mouth of the scabbard, and he who broke the seal was punished.

Aberl'Stherius. I am the only one, endorching design to see fellew-cutsmenter. To De B. B. behind to come. I becought my freezed into it to see author seed a level.

Stlla causes bimself to be nominated Distator. Unlimited power given bim. He appears in publick attended in the most terrible manner? He caufed Lucretius Ofella to be maffacred in the Forum, for standing for the Confulship contrary to bis order. He triumphs over Mitbridates. Sylla's Laws. He weakens and depresses the Tribuneship. He augments the inclosure of the city. He fells the estates of the proscribed in a tyrannical manner. Goodwill of a bad Poet rewarded by Sylla. Sylla a man of pleasure. Crassus inriches bimself with the estates of the proscribed. Product arifing from the fale of those estates to the publick Treasury. Affair of Sex. Roscius. Beginnings of Cicero. His birth. His first fludies. He is admired from thenceforth. His application on quitting the Schools: Philofophy: Law: Exercises proper for Elequence. He is charged with the cause of Sex. Roscius, and pleads it with abundance 901un

of courage and liberty. He makes a voyage into Asia. Grief of Apollonius Molo on bis account. He practises Action with Roscius the Comedian, Death of Norbanus. Taking of Nola and Volaterra. Pompey is fent into Africa against Domitius. Ridiculous adventure, that retards bim some days. Battle, in which Domitius is defeated and killed. Pompey carries the war into Numidia. Sylla recalls bim. Emotion of Pompey's soldiers on that occasion. Surname of Great given bim by Sylla, who bowever refuses bim a Triumph. Bold faying of Pompey. His triumph. Sylla at the same time Conful and Distator. Exceeding gratitude of Metellus to the author of bis father's re-establishment. Murena's Triumph, and account of the war be had made with Mitbridates. Mitbridates puts an end to the revolt of the People of Colchis by giving them bis fon for King : and then kills bim. Occasion of Marena's declaring war against Mithridates. Inconsiderable events of that war. End of the war. Verres, Dolabella's Lieutenant, Proconsul of Cilicia. He is for taking away the daughter of Philodamus; and afterwards causes Philodamus himself and his fon to be condemned to die. Ten thousand flaves made free by Sylla. Lands distributed to the officers and foldiers of twenty-three legions. Sylla abdicates the Distatorfhip. Reflexions upon that event. Ceremony of the abdication. Sylla is infulted by a young man. He reproaches Pompey with having made Lepidus Conful. He gives a feast of several days to the People. Death of Metella. Sylla marries again with Valeria. Sylla bas the lowfy difeafe. He gives laws to the inhabitants

of Puzzuoli. He works upon the Memoirs of bis life till two days before his death. His will. Last violence of Sylla. He dies. Reflexion upon the furname of Fortupate affumed by Sylla. His obsequies.

Ant. C, 82. to be nominated Dictator. Appian.

A. R. 670. CYLLA had reigned hisherte in fact, but Sylla cau- Without title. He was for colouring his fes himself sway with some respected name, in order that it might not feem a meer tyranny. Bendes which it was necessary to give the Commonwealth an head, which it had not had fince the death of the Confuls Marius and Carbo. He therefore took advantage of that occasion; and having quitted the city, he wrote to the Separe, that he believed it proper to choose an Interrex. This office was not used amongst the Romans, but when there were no Curule Magistrates in the Commonwealth. Accordingly Sylla's proposal is a proof, that the year 670 being elapsed, had pue an lend to the Magistracy of the Prators and Addies, and that we are now come to the year fail.

A. R. 671. Aint, C. 81.

The election was made according to custom by the Patricians, and L. Valerius Flaccus, then Prince of the Senate, was chosen Interver. Sylla then discovered himself. It was imagined, that the namination of an Interres was only previous to the election of Confuls. But Sylla made known his intentions by a letter, which he wrote to Flacens, wherein he directed him to declare in his name to the People, that he thought it pecessary to nominate a Dictator, and that, not for a limited time, but till the city, Italy, and the Commonwealth had recovered the violent shocks they had fustained during the civil war. It was manifest, that it was to himself he expected the Dictatorship A. R. 676. should be given. But that there might be no ambiguity in this point, he added at the bottom of the letter, that if they thought fit to lay that burthen upon him, he should be content to add this to his services of the Commonwealth.

There was no liberty to be hoped. The People at least seized the shadow and image of it, in going through the ceremony of giving their suffrages, as for an election dependent on their will. In this manner was the Dictator-ship revived in Rome, after an interval of an hundred and twenty years, and with two remarkable differences: the one, that it was the People, who created Sylla Dictator, whereas the nomination to that office had always been made hitherto by the supreme magistrate of the Commonwealth, that is, by a Conful, or a military Tribune. The other, and much the more important, difference is, that other Dictators had never been created but for six months, and now the time was indefinite.

The power of the Dictator was no less so. Unlimited For though in the better ages of the Common-power wealth the Dictatorship is called by Historians given to wealth the Dictatorship is called by Historians Sylla. a monarchical, and even tyrannical, power, Sylla did not content himself with the privileges usually annexed to that formidable office. It was expressly specified in the law passed by Plut. in the Interrex for his election, not only that all Sylla. he had done for the past, was approved and ratified; but that for the suture he should

Fabius Maximus bad. People, but only with the title been inwested with the power of Prodictator. Rom. Hist. of the Dictatorship by the Vol. V. at the beginning.

A. R. 671. have full power to do whatever he thought fit Ant. C. 81. to deprive the citizens of life without the form of trial; to conficate their estates; to settle Colonies; to build or destroy cities; and to give or take away Kingdoms, at his discretion: (a) the most iniquitous law, in Cicero's judgment, and the least worthy of that name, that ever was. Sylla having taken possession of the Dictatorship, rewarded the abject baseness with which Flaccus had given in to all his views, by making him his mafter of the Horse.

attended in the most terrible manner. Appian.

Heappears Accordingly he appeared in the Forum with an attendance most capable of inspiring terror, He was preceded by four and twenty Lictors, carrying the rods and axes: a fight entirely new to all then living, who had never feen a Dictator. The Confuls indeed had each twelve Lictors: but only one of those two Magistrates ever made his walk before him in the city: the other had only a serjeant; besides which the axes, that were fymbols of life and death, never appeared in Rome with the Confulary fasces. Sylla, besides the Lictors, had a numerous guard around him; and he used the power conferred upon him in all its extent, He gave a terrible example of this at

election of Confuls. He causes Lucretius For, to preserve the Commonwealth in its Ofella to ancient form, he would have Confuls, Prætors, be massacred in the and the other Magistrates created as usual. Forum, for Lucretius Ofella, who had lately taken Prædemanding neste, having set up as a Candidate for the

Ship contrary to bis order .. Plut.

Appian.

(a) Omnium legum iniquistimam distimilimamque legis esse arbitror eam quam Liv, Epit, L. Flaccus Interrex de Sulla

tulit, ut omnia quæcumque ille fecisse effent rata. in Rull. III. 5.

Con-

Consulship, the Dictator forbad him to stand A. R. 670. for that office. He, who faw he had friends ant C. 82. and interest, and had quite recently done so great a fervice to Sylla's party by the reduction of Præneste, believed he might neglect that prohibition with impunity. But whill he perfilted in canvaffing with the citizens in the Forum, the Dictator, who from his tribunal faw what paffed, fent a Centurion to him, who * killed him upon the fpot. On this murder a tumult of the whole multitude enfued: the Centurion was feized, and brought to Sylla's feet. Let him go, faid the Dictator, be bas only obeyed my orders. He then told the affembled People a fable, that I shall relate after Appian, as highly proper to shew the inconceiveable haughtiness and tyrannical spirit of Sylla, though little suitable to the dignity of History. He said, that a countryman, being bitten by lice, cleared his shirt of them once or twice, but the third time he threw it into the fire. Apply this example to yourselves, added he: and don't let the conquered, after baving been twice chastized, force me for a third time to bave recourse to the fire, that they may spare themselves that effect. It is easy to judge, that no body presented themselves to stand for the Confulship, but with the permission of this terrible Dictator. He caused M. Tullius Decula and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella to be elected, who had only the title without the power of Confuls.

I follow Plutarch. How- killed by Bellienus, Catilina's ever Asconius Pedianus says, uncle. that Lucretius Ofella was

A. R. 671. Ant. C. 81.

Confidence and Detroit found him to find a Refer M. TULLIUS DECULA. CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

He triumphs over Mitbridates.

late da

Sylla, towards the latter end of the month of January, entered Rome in triumph. He triumphed over Mithridates only, and was praifed Val. Max, with reason for not suffering to appear in that II. 8. Plut. pomp, either the name of any citizen conquered by him, or the representation of any city belonging to the Romans, though he had taken some and reduced others. His triumph was magnificent, and adorned with the richeft spoils of Asia. But what constituted its principal ornament, was a long file of the most illustrious and principal persons of the Senate and city, who having been protected by him from the fury of Marius and Cinna, followed his chariot, calling him their Father and Preferver, and protefting, that they were indebted to him for their return to their country, and for the happiness they enjoyed in seeing their wives and children again; and lastly for life itself. The ceremony of the triumph continued two days. On the first, fifteen thouland pounds in weight of gold, and an hundred and fifteen of filver, were borne in it, which were the fruits of the war with Mithridates; on the second, thirteen thousand pounds of gold, and fix thousand of filver, which had been faved either at the burning of the Capitol, or taken out of different temples, and afterwards carried to Præneste by young Marius; and this money was expressed in a painting, carried in poling according to cuftom and so exhibited to the People.

The Dictator afterwards applied himself to reforming the State, by the establishment of new laws; and he did it with a wifdom by A. R. 67h, which it might well have been defired that he hat c. es.

had regulated his whole conduct.

Some of these laws regarded the crimes contrary to the intent of civil Society, cheating and sale-witness, coining, violence to the citizens, poisoning and affassination. In respect to all these crimes, which could not but have multiplied exceedingly, during the troubles and horrors of the civil wars, he either renewed or increased the punishments insticted by the ancient laws. He only added to the laws against affassinations an exception in favour of those,

who had killed the profcribed.

His other laws had the publick offices, dignities, and Priefthoods as their object. He prohibited any person to stand for the Prætorthip before having been Quæftor, or for the Consulship before having been Prætor. He renewed the ancient prohibition to confer the Confulfhip a fecond time upon the fame citizen, except after an interval of ten years. This law had frequently been violated in the preceding years; and if it was passed this year by Sylla, he himfelf violated his own law the year following in causing himself to be chosen Conful for the second time, and tho' only seven years had elapsed from the expiration of his first Confullhip. Perhaps he did not pass this law, till he was out of the cafe of having occasion to break it himself.

He also augmented the number of Pontiss, Augurs, and * Priests, that had the care of the Sibyl's books, and made all those Colleges

Some doubt, subether be to be afcribed to Sylla. I the augmentation of this last follow the most common and Cottege to the number of fifteen most probable opinion.

Ant. C. 81.

A. R. 671. amount to the number of fifteen. He decreed. that inflead of fix Prætors eight should be created every year; and that twenty Quæstors should be annually chosen; in order to have a fufficient number of Senators always in readiness to supply the places of such as should drop off through different accidents. As feditions and wars had extremely diminished the Senate, he filled it up with the most illustrious of the Roman Knights to the number of three hundred, and that by the confent, and with the fuffrages, of the Tribes affembled. All these regulations were laudable, or at least necessary: and every body, friend and enemy, had reason to be fatisfied with them.

> It is not to be wondered, that he raised the credit and splendor of the nobility, of whom he had been the defender and avenger. Accordingly he restored the judicature to the Senate; and ordained that for the future, the Judges

should be chosen solely out of the Senators. He weak- This was reinstating things upon the ancient ens and de foot. He made it his peculiar care to depress

the Tribuneship, which had been the source of fo many fatal divisions: and not daring entirely to abolish it, he reduced it at least to almost

a meer shadow. He in consequence deprived the Tribunes of the power to pass laws. He decreed, that every Tribune should be elect-

ed out of the body of the Senate, that the interest of that order might balance the inclination of those Magistrates to favour the People

in every thing. And lastly, to exclude from the Tribuneship all those, whom their birth or

talents might render formidable in that office, he decreed, that whoever should have been

the standard ston

inuoms

Tribune,

Appian.

preffes the Tribune-Bip. Vell. II. 30. Liv. Epit. Appian.

Tribune, should not be capable of ever pre+ A. R. 671. tending to any superior dignity. The People were extremely diffatisfied with this reduction of the Tribuneship. But after all the evils, which we have feen arise from this source, can Sylla be blamed for having confined the Tribunes to the only function, for which they had been inflituted, which was to aid the oppressed citizens?

I ought not to omit, in speaking of the Acts He enlarof Sylla's Dictatorship, that he removed the ges the enbounds of the city, and enlarged its circumfe the city. rence. This was an honour and privilege, Tac. XII. which all were not permitted to assume, and Ann 23. was only due to those, who had extended the Sen. de Benef. Empire itself. Sylla well deserved that honour, V.16.

by his victories: and he was the last of the Generals of the Commonwealth, who defired

to have it.

The various cares, fo worthy of a supreme He fells the Magistrate, and a Reformer of the Common-estates of wealth, were intermingled with others of a quite the prodifferent kind, and which suited only a tyrant. feribed in a He fold the estates of the proscribed as spoils; manner. and was not afraid to call them by that odious Cic. de name. He fold and gave them away from his Off. II. 8. Tribunal, in fo despotic and haughty a manner; that the bestowing of them gave more offence, than the violence by which he had feized them. He made presents of whole provinces, or the revenues of an whole city, to women, who had more beauty than virtue; to Musicians, Comedians, and wretched freed-

One of the gifts of this kind, and perhaps the best placed, is that mentioned by Cicero in cendes. Companieres de

erlackaryon andibury

A. R. 671 his Oration for Archias the Poet. Whilst (a) Sylla presided at the sales, of which we are speaking, a bad Poet presented him with a copy of pretended Hexameter and Pentameter verses, but which, according to Cicero, were only measured prose, of which the second was longer than the first. Sylla however did not believe he ought to leave the man's good-will unrewarded, and gave him one of the things he was then felling, but with express condition, that he should make no more verses. A stroke of pleasantry in which we perceive the man of wit.

Sylla a man of pleasure.

But his tafte for the company of buffoons cannot be excused. This was in him a taste of his youth, which had been interrupted by the wars, and revived, when he faw himself at peace, and capable of living as he pleased, after fo many agitations and conflicts. He in confequence drew together a body of theatrical people, the most impudent of whom were most agreeable to him. These were his companions at table: he drank with them all day; and shared with them in buffoon pleasantries and raillery, in a manner ill-fuiting both his age and dignity. For at table nothing ferious was to be expected from Sylla. Active, vigilant, and rigid to excess of cruelty at all other times, he was not the fame man the moment he fat down with his guelts. Then players and dancers found him all kindness and complacency, to the point of coming in to every thing.

(a) (Sullam) in concione vidimus, quum ei libellum malus Poeta de populo subjecisset, quod epigramma meum fecisset tantummodo alternis versibus longiusculis,

ftatim ex iis rebus quas tunc vendebat jubere ei præmium tribui fab ea conditione, ne quid postea scriberet. Gid. pro Arch. n. 25.

Sylla did not bestow his presents solely upon A. B. 6714 this kind of men. He was well pleafed, that the principal and most illustrious of the citizens should share in the odium of these tyrannical fales with him. None entered more into his Craffusiaviews than Craffus, who, engroffed by the avi-richeshimdity of riches, knew no feruples in respect to self-with the manner of inriching himfelf. He glutted of the prohimself with joy with the blood of the miserable scribed. buying at a very low rate, or even accepting as Plut. in gifts, the confilcations of the profcribed : and Craffo. it was principally from this hateful fource, that he derived thate immense possessions, which made him the richest citizen of Rome. He had even carried things fo far, that he lost Sylla's friendship by it : and having proscribed a very, rich man by his own private authority and without order, for the fake of possessing his fortune, he incurred the Dictator's displeasure for it, who never gave him any employment who might one day bring to enorablemental

Though many private persons made great Product gains by these sales, and the great parts of arising from the estates were given away for nothing, a very also stock ry considerable sum came into the public treasostates to sury from them. The epitome of Livy makes the public it amount to three hundred and sisty millions Treasury. of sestences, which makes near two millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling. What would it have been, had the estates been all

Their real value and the price they were Affairs of fold for were often enormoutly different, as we Sex. Rofmay be convinced from a fact, of which Ci-fius. cero gives us every circumstance, and which, besides, contains a complication of injustices,

A. R. 671 and crimes, that makes us perfectly acquainted with the hardship of those calamitous times.

Amelia Spoleto.

The ceffation of profcriptions and fales was fixed by the law for the first of June. Several months after, Sex. Roscius, one of the principal citizens of * Almeria, was affaffinated in Rome by enemies, whole delign was Duchy of more against his estate than his life. At that time the profesiption was out of the question. However the affaffins of Roscius caused his name to be inferted upon the lift of the proferibed by the means of Chryfogonus, Sylla's freedman? and who had an entire afcendant over his patron. The estate of Roscius was then confiscated: Chryfogonus made himfelf the feller, and bought for two thousand felterces, that is, about twelve pounds fterling, estates that were worth fix millions of felterces. or about thirty-five thousand pounds of our money. Nor is this all.v. Roscius left a son who might one day bring fo enormous and manifest an injustice to a trial, vand perhaps regain his paternal effate. The affaffins to delisadilas ver themselves from apprehension in concert with Chryfogonus raccufed the fon of having been the murderer of his father. Chryfogoms reckoned, all powerful as he was, to carry the affair with eafe, and to obtain the condemnation of a person, whom no body would venture to defend. Accordingly the principal Orators of Rome refused to charge themselves with his caufe. Only Cicero, then between twenty-fix and twenty-feven years old had the courage to defend that oppressed innocent: heneven succeeded in shaving him acquitted; and that cause pleaded by him in a very shining manner laid the foundation of his reputation at the bar.

As I have had occasion to speak of * Cice-A. R. 676. ro, who begins now to enter upon the stage Beginof the world, let me be fuffered, to change the nings of scene from so many horrors as have employed Cicero. the imagination fo long, to infert fome cir-Hisbirth cumstances relating to the first years of so great a man, the important figure he will make in the fequel, and more than that, the affecting interest all who have any taste for literature cannot but feel for that amiable writer, with whom we are made familiar from our infancy. and who is so capable both of amusing agreeably, and of employing ufefully the ripelt years; these are undoubtedly titles more than fufficient for giving place in a Roman Hiftory to every thing that relates to him! bial at 2

Cicero was born the third of January in Plut in the 646th year of Rome at Arpinum, a mu Cic. nicipal city in the country of the Volici. He was of an honourable family, whose ancestors had long been Roman Knights from father to fon ; but none of them had held a Curule office in Rome. The Sirname of Cicero descended to him from his forefathers. It had been given to one of the family, who transmitted it to his posterity; from a mark at the end of his nose resembling a pea. For eiter in latin fignifies a pea. According to Pliny, that furname had another origin. He fays, Plin. that as agriculture was anciently much in ho-aviii, 3nour at Rome, and throughout Latium, and that most persons cultivated lands with

* Part of what Mr. Rol- Cicero has been considered by

lin has faid of Cicero in his Mr. Rollin folely as an O-Belles Lettres Vol. II. will rator: but here the reader be repeated bere. The point bus un abridgment of the first of wire is bowever different. years of bis life.

B. 66 their own labour, the name of Cicero, as well as those of Fabius and Lentulus, were taken from plants, that some person of those families either delighted, or excelled, in cultivating peas, beans, lentile. However that be, when Cicero first entered upon the pursuit of honours, his friends advised him to quit that furname, which feemed to have fomething ignoble in it. But he answered them with that confidence, which merit and youth inspire, that he intended to make the furname of Cicero more illustrious than those of Catullus and Scaurus. The comparison was just as to the furnames confidered in themselves, For Catullus fignifies puppy, and Scaurus, Sumpfoot is in in initiality

It is faid that his mother, who was called Helvetia, and was a woman of condition and merit, was delivered of him without pain; and that his nurse saw a phantom, who foretold to her that the infant the fuckled, flould do great honour, and become extremely useful, to the Roman People But Plutarch himself treats these pretended omens as fables and prifles. Asfloor as young Cicero was capable of diffinguishing his genius, he gave far more folid omens of what he should be vone day zid or it bestime

His firft forth.

treit

For when he appeared in the public schools fludies. He he diftinguished himself in such a manner by is admired the finest genius that ever was, that the fathers of his schoolfellows frequently went thither to fee this rifing prodigy, of whom they had heard fuch furprizing praifes. And those, who had a gross and absurd vanity were disgusted, that their children should pay fuch singular honours to their young comrade, place him in the midst of them, and every where give green of bit office

him the upper hand. For at that age youth A. R. 6712, do one another justice with much more frankness and candour, than is practised amongst persons of riper years. In his first studies he applied himself much to poetry, and was even thought to succeed in it. But every body knows that was not his talent. For the rest, His exert as his genius was capable of all things, he em-cises on braced Philosophy, Law, and Eloquence, quitting which was the end to which he referred all his other studies. He also made a trial of the profession of arms, and served in the war of the Allies under Pompeius Strabo. But he was still less formed for arms than for poetry, and he soon devoted himself to the arts of peace.

His taste (a) for philosophy rose to pas-Philosophy. so in and he applied himself entirely, as he tells us himself, to the lectures of Philo the Academic, whom the troubles of Greece, on the approach of the armies of Mithridates, had forced to quit Athens, and retire to Rome. Cicero followed his inclination for the study of philosophy the more willingly, as the deplorable state of the city, torn in pieces by the factions of Marius and Sylla, and afterwards harrassed by the tyranny of Cinna and Carbo, seemed to have abolished both the laws and

the practice of the bar.

However not entirely losing sight of his purpose, he applied himself in a very particular manner to logick, which is a kind of more confined eloquence, as eloquence is a more dif-

⁽a) Totum ei (Philoni) concitatus. Cicer. in Brute me tradidi admirabili quo- a. 306.

A. R. 671 fosive and extended logick. And as the Sto-Ant. C. 81. ics diligently cultivated that part of philosophy, he had taken for his guide in the fludy of it. a philosopher of that sect, called Diodotus, who passed his life with him, and died in his house during the rule of Cæsar.

Law. Cic. de Amic. 1.

As to Law, his mafters and models were the two Scævola's, the Augur and Pontiff, the greatest lawyers and the most worthy persons of the commonwealth. His father according to the cuftom very wifely established amongst the Romans, had prefented him, affoon as he put on the robe of manhood, to Scavola the Augur, to accompany that venerable old man every where, and collect all his fayings: fo that the young Cicero went every morning to his house, waited upon him to the Forum or Senate, and afterwards attended him home. After the death of the Augur, he adhered through his own choice to the Pontiff. How much might a young man improve, and form himself for every good purpose in such com+ pany.

Exercifes eloquence.

Whilft (a) Cicero laboured in this manner necessary to night and day, we use his own words, to inrich and adorn his mind with all kinds of knowledge, he did not forget the exercifes neceffary to eloquence: and no day paffed without his composing both in latin and more frequently in greek, " whether fays he, because " the greek tongue being richer and more " abundant with ornaments than ours, enabled " me to acquire the facility of speaking in " the like manner in latin; or because the

⁽a) Ego hoc tempore omni noctes & dies in omnium doctrinarum meditatione versabar.

e greatest masters of the art being Greeks, A. R. 677. and not understanding our language, I was Ant, C. 81. obliged to speak to them in theirs." He also took care assiduously to follow all the Orators of any reputation, either when they pleaded before the Judges, or spoke upon the public affairs in the affemblies of the People. It was by all these pains he formed himself for pleading: (a) fo that when he came to the bar, it was not to learn his business there, as most others did, but he brought a rich fund of learning thither acquired by previous fludy

and application. After having pleaded fome causes of less im-Heischarportance, the misfortunes of the times obliged re-ged with course to be had to him on that of Roscius; be-the cause cause those, who had more eyes upon them, and scius.

whole discourses might have been considered as dangerous attacks, were afraid; as I have faid above, to offend Chrysogonus, who was allpowerful with the Dictator, and who not appearing in the affair as a party, was however the foul and principal in it. Cicero, who was young, and hitherto not very capable of attracting attention, believed that what he should be obliged to fay for the defence of the accused, would be deemed of little consequence, and he was defirous of improving the occasion for making himfelf known.

He pleaded this cause in the second Consul- And pleads thip of Sylla, being then twenty feven years it with Wegreat Spiof age, with great spirit and liberty. rit of

remus, quod plerique fece- forum veniremus. runt, fed ut quantum nos

the and amount series of

Linimon .

(a) Non ut in foro disce- efficere potuissemus, docti in freedom.

A. R. 671. have the Oration which he made upon this oc-Ant. C. 81. casion. He spares the Dictator in it, and takes care to put him out of the question. But he lashes Chrysogonus with no mercy; not only unravelling the whole mystery of iniquity, which I have related in few words, but with invectives against his person, and exposing his infolence to the contempt and hatred of the Public. He described his city and countryhouses, his magnificent furniture, his plate, his coftly vases of Corinthian or Delian Brass, the multitude of his flaves, and his luxurious debauches. He afterwards paints his infolence in these terms: " (a) Do you see in what " manner he stalks up and down the Fo-" rum, with his fine hair well curled and per-" fumed, attended every where by a nume-" rous train: how he despises every body, and " thinks no one worthy of being compared with him: how he thinks himself all power-" ful and happy, and the fole arbiter of all mens fortunes.

Cicero explains himself even upon the public affairs with abundance of freedom. He undoubtedly does not blame the cause of the Nobility at bottom, to which he declares on the contrary he had always been attached through principle and inclination: but he complains highly of the oppressions practised under the colour and protection of that cause. (b) "If

arms

(a) Ipse verò quemadmodum composito & delibuto capillo passim per forum volitet cum magna caterva togatorum, videtis judices: ut omnes despiciat, ut hominem præ se neminem putet, ut se solum beatum, solum potentem putet. Cic. pro Sex. Ros. n. 135.

(b) Si id actum eft, & idcirco arma fumpta funt, ut homines arms have been taken, fays he, only that A. R. 671. the last and lowest of men might inrich Ant. C. 81.

themselves with the estates of others, and

" usurp the possessions of every citizen, and we

on not only cannot oppose these violences, so

" much as to condemn them in our discourses: in this case, the Commonwealth is neither re-

" ftored nor re-established, but subjected and

" oppressed."

We fee that Cicero was not in the wrong in Cic.deOftaking honour to himself for having raised his fic. 11. 31, voice against Sylla's power, for the protection of oppressed innocence. Accordingly Plutarch fays, that this liberty, with which Cicero spoke, and the fear of Sylla's vengeance, were the motives, that determined him to quit Rome. and make a voyage to Asia. But this is hard He makes to reconcile with Cicero's own account, who a veyage places between his pleading for Roscius and his voyage to Asia many other causes, in which he laboured with as much ardour and care as the first. It was therefore from the motive of health, he made that voyage, of which we are going to fay a few words.

He was extremely thin and weakly: he had a very long and flender neck; fo that it was much feared, that affiduity would entirely ruin so delicate a complexion; and the more, because when he pleaded his fire was so great, that he strained his voice in a violent manner without any check, speaking always at

homines postremi pecuniis alienis locupletarentur, & in fortunas uniusque cujusque modo reprohibere, non licet, sed ne verbis quidem

vituperare; tum verò in isto bello non recreatus, neque restitutus, sed subactus opimpetum facerent & id non pressusque populus Romanus eft. n. 137.

the

A. R. 672 the utmost extent of it from the beginning to Ant. C. 81. the end. (a) His friends and physicians therefore exhorted him to renounce a profession that would destroy him: but as for himself he chose rather to hazard every thing that might happen, than to renounce the glory of eloquence, which was the object of his hopes and wishes. He however conceived that if he could moderate himself, he should speak the better in effect, and should not risk the same dangers in respect to his health. Accordingly he went to Asia, to exercise himself in a gentler and more tranquil manner, and to endeavour to retrench the too great impetuolity of his genius.

pollonius Molo on bi account.

Grief of A- He made himself acquainted with all the greatest Philosophers and most famous Orators. both at Athens and in Asia. But the person to whom he principally attached himself, was Apollonius Molo, the Rhodian, from whom he had taken lessons at Rome, and who was, at the same time, both a great advocate, and a great rhetorician. A very remarkable adventure happened to him with this Apollonius. He composed in Greek, that his master might understand him. One day whilst he was declaiming to him in the presence of a great audience, he made a fine discourse, which when finished, every body highly applauded. Apollonius was the only one that appeared thoughtful during this speech, and kept silence, when it was ended. Cicero, who fet a greater value on his approbation, than on that of all

⁽a) Itaque quum me & amici & medici honarentur, rata dicendi gloria receden-ut causas agere desisterem, dum putavi. Cie. in Brut. quodvis potius periculum

mihi adeundum, quam à spem. 324, . . republicager obom ind signey an est

the rest together, was dashed by his silence, and A.R. 67 n. asked him the cause of it. Ab! Cicero, replied Ant. C. S. Apollonius, I undoubtedly praise and admire you. But I lament the fate of Greece which had no glory left but that of Eloquence; and I see you are upon the point of depriving her of that lost advantage, and of transferring it to the Romans.

This (a) great matter did so excellent a pupil important services. Cicero abandoned himself willingly to the vastness of his genius, and sometimes shewed more abundance than justness, as he says himself; like a river, that overflows its banks. Apollonius taught him to check his sallies, how happy soever they might be, and to confine himself within the bounds of the occasion of his cause. Thus after two years the young Orator returned to Rome, not only better versed in the art of speaking, but almost entirely changed. His tone of voice was softened, his style was more correct, and his action less violent.

To compleat himself in the attainment of He practices latter point, I mean action, on which we tises action know what stress Demosthenes placed, Cicero with Roscontracted an intimacy with the samous Come-Comedian. dian Roscius, who in a profession of no great credit had retained a probity worthy of the friendship and esteem of the most worthy persons, and was besides master of his art in a supreme degree of persection. Macrobius re-Macrob, lates a singular circumstance on this head. He Sat. 1. II. says that Cicero and Roscius contended which c. 10. should express the same thought and sentiment,

P 4

⁽a) Is dedit operam, si dam impunitate & licentia modò id consequi potuit, dicendi reprimeret, & quasi ut nimia redundantes nos extra ripas diffluentes coerse superfluentes juvenili qua-

A. R. 671. the one in the most various turns of phrase, and at the same time the most happily, and the other by the greatest diversity of motions and action.

So admirable a genius, cultivated with fo much pains, acquired Cicero an height of reputation, that eclipsed all the other Orators, except Hortenfius, who long disputed the first rank with him; and he found no difficulty to fet himfelf above the discourse of those, who still retaining fome traces of the ancient rufticity of the Romans, ridiculed the arts of Greece, and treated himself as a Greek, and a man formed in the schools. His successes abundantly revenged this unjust contempt.

Death of I return to the sequel of our history: and Norbanus. first to make an end of all that relates to pro-Nola and scriptions; Norbanus, who had been Consul Volaterra, with Scipio, having retired to Rhodes, feeing himself demanded by Sylla, he killed himself in the public Forum of that city. In Italy the cities of Nola and Volaterra defended themfelves obstinately during a considerable length of time against the victorious party. They were at last reduced by force of arms and obliged to submit. I run slighly over these less important facts, in order to proceed to Pompey's exploits.

fent into Africa againft

3:13

Pompey is When that young Conqueror had re-established the peace of Sicily, he received orders to go to Africa, where Cn. Domitius Aheno-Domitius. barbus, Cinna's fon-in-law, was affembling forces; and supported by Hiertas or Hiarbas,

- Sed in longum tamen ævum Manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris.

Hor. Ep. II. 1. 159.

Horace complains in his time of remains of this rufti-

king of part of Numidia, feemed in a condition A. R. 671. to make himself formidable. The example of Ant. C. 81. Marius, who when reduced to a much more deplorable fituation, had quitted the fame Africa with an handful of fugitives, and had repossessed himself of Rome and Italy, was a lesson, that taught Sylla not to suffer any of the conquered party to fubfift. Pompey in confequence fet out from Sicily with fix legions, an hundred and twenty thips of war, and eight hundred transports, laden with all kind of munitions. Part of the fleet anchored at Utica, and the other at Carthage.

Pompey on his arrival was retarded fome days Ridiculous by a ridiculous adventure. Some foldiers hav-adventure, ing found a treasure in the field, where they in-that recamped, the whole army were affured, that it fards bim was all full of gold and filver, hid under ground by the Carthaginians at the time of their disafter. Immediately every man was feen with pick-ax in hand, digging in emulation of each other. without Pompey's being able to prevent them: fo that he chose to laugh at the fight of so many thousand men employed in turning up the earth, and finding nothing. They were at length tired of a fruitless labour, and declared to Pompey, that they were ready to march immediately on his orders, well punished, as they confessed themselves, for their foolish credulity. Pompey accordingly led them against the enemy.

The armies were foon in fight, feparated Battle in only by an hollow way of a difficult and flippery which Dodescent. A storm of rain and wind happened mitius is descent. at that time, which began in the morning, and and killed. continued all day; fo that Domitius despairing of being able to fight, made the fignal for retreating.

A. R. 671 treating. Pompey conceived that moment fat vourable to him. He immediately advanced. paffed the hollow, and attacked the enemy, who having then no thoughts but of retiring, were eafily put into confusion; and the rather because the form and rain were in their faces. They were in consequence driven to their camp, and Pompey's foldiers proclaimed him Imperator. But he declared to them, that he would not receive that honour, whilft the enemy's camp fubfifted; and that he did not believe, he deferved fo glorious a title, till they had first forced the enemy's intrenchments. It was already late, befides which the day was fo darkened with clouds. that they could scarce see one another: and Pompey himself had been very near being killed in the battle by one of his own foldiers, who had asked the word of him without receiving an answer foon enough. However those troops. animated both by victory and the valour of their General, marched to the enemy's camp. Pompey fought at their head without an helmet, to avoid a fecond accident of the like nature with the former. The camp was taken, and Domitius killed upon the spot. The slaughter was great: and of twenty thousand scarce three thousand escaped. So compleat a victory reduced the whole country, the cities of which either received the victor, or were foon taken for the first of Poweres according by force.

Pompey war into Numidia.

Pompey even entered Numidia. Hiertas was earries the killed; his kingdom was given to Hiempfal, and the terror of the Roman name revived in those countries, where the remembrance of it began to expire. This whole successful expedition was terminated in forty days, after which Pompey returned to Utica.

On

On arriving there, he received dispatches A. R. 671. from Sylla, by which he was ordered to fend Sylla reback his whole army, and to keep only a fingle calls bim. legion, with which he remained in the Province, till a fuccessor was fent him. Pompey was much disgusted with these orders, which feemed to argue, that Sylla began to take fome umbrage at him. He however concealed his fentiments, and resolved to obey. But it was not the same with the troops, who mutinied openly, and declared to him, that they would not fuffer him to put himself alone and without defence into the hands of the Dictator, whom they publicly denominated as a Tyrant. Pompey used all possible methods to appeale them; but to no effect: and notwithstanding his prayers and even tears, they replaced him feveral times upon his Tribunal. At last he protested, that if they did not cease their violence to him, he would kill himself directly. That threat compelled them to be quiet.

The news of this commotion came to Rome with fome alteration, and Pompey was made the chief and author of it. Sylla believed it, and faid, that it was his destiny to be obliged in bis old age to make war with children, referring to young Marius, who had given him great difquiet, and affociating Pompey with him. But when the truth came to be cleared up, the Dictator feeing the public declared in the favour of that young warriour, refolved to do him all kinds of honours. Accordingly when Pompey arrived at Rome, Sylla went out to meet him; Surname and having given him all possible proofs of Great amity, he faluted him by the name of The given to Great. According to Plutarch, this was the Pompey by origin of that furname ascribed to Pompey. Sylla. Liv. XXX. Livy, 45.

A. R. 671. Livy, who is at least as much to be relied on Ant. C. 81. in this fact, says, that the flattery of his friends introduced the use of it. This disquisition is of little importance: but it is not amis to observe, that Pompey apprehended the lostiness of such a

furname, and that he did not assume it himself, till after some years were elapsed. It was not till he made war against Sertorius in Spain, that the use of this surname being universal, and having nothing odious in it, he began to add it

to his own name.

Who bowever refuses bim a triumph.

Whatever reception Sylla had given Pompey, he did not think proper to comply with his demand of a triumph, at which he aspired. He represented to him, " that the laws granted that honour only to those, who have been " Prætors or Confuls. That for that reason, the first Scipio Africanus, who had done es very great things in Spain, but without cha-" racter as a Magistrate, had not triumphed. " And that if Pompey, who was very young, " and not even of age to enter the Senate, " should be allowed to triumph, That would " fuffice at the same time to render odious " not only him, who should obtain it contrary " to the express regulation of the laws, but " the supreme Magistrate, who should have " violated them to grant it him." Sylla coneluded these representations, with declaring to him in express terms, that he should stop him fhort, and prevent the effect of a too ambitious defire. Pompey did not give way to the Dic-

Boldsaying tator's authority, and desired him to consider, of Pompey that the rising sun had more adorers than the setting. Sylla did not hear him: and that hold expression, which insinuated, that he was upon the decline of his power, and Pompey upon

the

the increase of his, did not reach his ears. But A. R. 67t. observing an air of astonishment upon every face, he desired to be informed concerning it; and some body having repeated Pompey's words, he was so struck with the boldness of the young man, that he cried out twice, Let bim triumph, let bim triumph.

This unheard of honour drew much envy His triupon Pompey: and to mortify that spirit still umph.
more, he intended to have his triumphal chariot
drawn by four elephants. For he had brought
several of those animals from Numidia. But
the gate of the city being too narrow, he renounced that design, and used horses according
to custom.

His foldiers occasioned him another difficulty. As he did not give them so much as their avidity had made them hope, they mutinied, and threatened to interrupt the ceremony of his triumph. But Pompey continued firm, and declared, that he would rather renounce his triumph, than flatter his soldiers. This generous conduct conciliated even those, who had been most averse to him: and Servilius, one of the principal Senators, said, that he now acknowledged Pompey truly Great, and worthy of triumphing.

Accordingly he triumphed over Hiertas and the Numidians, being yet only a Roman Knight. Plutarch observes, that it would undoubtedly have been very easy for him to have been made a Senator. But it had been no extraordinary distinction to have been made a Senator before the age, whereas it was an unexampled singularity, to triumph before his admission into the Senate: This circumstance was beside of use to him in conciliating the favour of the People, who were charmed to see him continue.

A.R. 671. continue in the rank of only a Roman Knight after having triumphed.

mirror bomanic

Ant. C. 80,

A. R. 672. L. CORNELIUS SULLA, FALIX II. Q. CECILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

Sylla at the fame time both Conful and Dictator. Appian.

Sylla still retaining the Dictatorship, would however be Conful this year, undoubtedly to thew Republican fentiments, and prove, that the Dictatorship did not induce him either to disdain, or to incline to abolish the Consulship. His example was followed by Cæfar and the Emperors, who believed they made themselves more popular by frequently affociating the Confulfhip in their own persons with their Imperial power.

Gratitude lus to the Per fon who had the reestablishment of his father.

Metellus whom he had taken for his Collegue, of Metel- and whose probity and goodness of heart have always received the greatest praises, made a proof of them on a remarkable occasion during occasioned his Consulship. He was the son, as we have faid more than once, of Metellus Numidicus, who having been banished by Saturnius, had been reinstated by Calidius Tribune of the People. This (a) Calidius standing for the Prætorship, Metellus Pius not only canvassed warmly for him, and made the most pressing supplications to the People in his favour; but though actually Conful, and of the highest class of the Nobility, he descended to call Calidius his patron and the protector of his family, thereby

quum quidem non dubispondeo, quod ipse vidi: taret & Consul, & homo Q. Metellum Pium, Con- nobilissimus, patronum ilnobilissimus, patronum illum esse suum, & familiæ petente Q. Calidio, po- fute nobilissime, dicere. Cic. pulo Romano supplicasse, pro Plancio, n. 60.

⁽a) De Calidio tibi refulem Prætoriis comitiis,

declaring himself out of gratitude the client of A. R. 672.

a man extremely below him.

The triumph of Muræna over Mithridates Muræna's may be dated with probability enough in this triumph, year; and this obliged me to relate here the and the rewar he had made with that prince. This ac- his war count will be very short, and little circumstan- with Mitial. We have almost only a fragment of Ap-thridates. pian upon this war, and some detached sayings Mithrid. of Cicero's in different parts of his orations. Appian's account gives a very flight idea of Muræna's exploits, and it would be difficult to find any thing in them, that deferved a triumph. Cicero speaks of it as an Orator, and perhaps bestows too great praises upon it. As his expressions are general, and specify nothing in particular, there is a necessity for us to take Appian for our guide.

Mithridates immediately after the peace con-Mithriched with Sylla, made war with the inhabi-dates suptants of Colchis, who had revolted. They de-preses the manded his son Mithridates for King; and as the People soon as he had complied they laid down their of Colchis, arms, and returned to their duty. The King by giving them his of Pontus, who was distrustful and suspicious, son for imagined, that the revolt of Colchis might be King; and the effect of his son's intrigues, in order to obtain himself a Kingdom. It was dangerous to him. become umbragious to Mithridates. His cruel

policy pardoned no body. He sent for his son: and that too credulous young Prince having put himself into his hands, he caused him

to be laden with chains of gold, and foon after Occasion of put him to death.

He afterwards undertook to reduce the in-declared by habitants of Bosphorus, who had revolted at Murana, the same time with those of Colchis: and on Mithrithat dates.

A. R. 672 that occasion he made such great preparations Ant, C. 80. both of men and ships, as gave all the world reason to think, that he had the Romans much more in view, than his rebellious subjects. Befides which, though he had promifed by the Treaty to cede Cappadocia to Ariabarzanes, he still retained several fortresses in it.

> Muræna, who had been left by Sylla in Afia. as I have faid, with Fimbria's legions, was very glad to have these reasons or pretexts for renewing the war. For, according to Appian, he ar-

dently defired a triumph.

Whilft this defign engroffed him, Archelaus took refuge with him, with his wife and children, not believing himself safe in the court of Mithridates. That General had been suspected by his mafter from the time of the battle of Chæronea. His negociation with Sylla had increased those suspicions; and Mithridates, to whom that peace had been hard and shameful, was affured, that Archelaus, in treating it, had facrificed the interests of his Prince to those of the Romans. So much was more than was necessary to induce Mithridates to proceed to the most rigorous extremities; and Archelaus. who knew him well, having put himself into Muræna's hands, spared no pains to prevail upon him to renew the war.

Events of not confiderable.

Muræna eafily gave in to a counfel, to which that war, he was much inclined of himself before; and having entered Cappadocia, he marched towards Comana, a city famous for the temple of Bellona, which was extremely revered in the country, and prodigiously rich. He cut some troops of Mithridates's cavalry to pieces, seized the city. and plundered the temple.

On these first hostilities, the King of Pontus A. R. 677. fent an Embaffy to Muræna, to represent to him, that he acted contrary to the Treaty recently concluded; and to demand that he should conform to it. He had made an ill choice of his Ambassadors. They were Greek Philosophers, who instead of supporting the interests of their master, laboured to discredit and render him odious. The Roman, who defired the war, was not likely to be diffwaded from it by fuch an Embassy. He acted even on this occasion with notorious breach of faith. if Appian's account be true. As the Treaty between Sylla and Mithridates had not been reduced to writing, and both fides had been contented with the execution of the conditions. Muræna faid, that he knew nothing of it, continued his incursions and ravages, and took up his winter quarters in Cappadocia. All that I have been faying probably passed in the Confulfhip of Scipio and Norbanus the 660th year of Rome.

Mithridates sent his complaints to Rome, A. R. 670. and waiting an answer, he had even the patience to fuffer Muræna to pursue his hostilities unmolested. At length Calidius arrived, bringing with him not a written Decree of the Senate. but a meer verbal order to Muræna, to difcontinue making war against Mithridates. At least he talked this language to him in publick. But they faw each other in private: and Muræna, continued the war. Perhaps the Senate was not forry, that he harraffed the King of Pontus; resolving to approve him if he fucceeded, or to difavow him, if unfuccessful. Muræna in consequence passed the Memnon. tiver Halys, as if intending to march to Sinope, apudPhot. VOL. X.

A. R. 672. which was the place where Mithridates was Ant. C. 80. born, and the capital of the Kingdom of his ancestors.

Appian.

Mithridates feeing himfelf driven to extremities, fent Gordius against the Roman General, and foon after followed him in person with great forces. The armies met near the Halys, with the river between them. The King of Pontus passed it, notwithstanding the relistance of the enemy, and came to a rude What refults from the account most in Muræna's favour, is that Mithridates had the

Memnon, battle. advantage at first, but that afterwards the Romans having refumed courage, they parted with equal fuccess. It appears, that both sides pretended to the victory, without either's having great room however to ascribe the glory of it to itself, as they removed from each other as if by concert, and retired towards two very different sides; Mithridates towards Colchis,

and Muræna into Phrygia.

However Mithridates, who affected pomp, resolved to celebrate this pretended victory by a folemn facrifice after the manner of the Perfians, from whom he derived his origin. Appian gives us the following description of it. An immense pile of wood is raised upon the top of an high mountain: and the Kings themfelves carry the first pieces, which are to serve as the foundation to the whole edifice. Below and around this pile a second is erected, which occupies less space. Upon that above are laid the offerings, that are to be confumed in honour of the gods; honey, wine, milk, oil, and perfumes. Upon that below, a feaft is ferved for those who affift at the facrifice, These enormous piles are afterwards kindled; and

Appian.

and form a real conflagration, the flames of A. R. 672. which are perceived forty leagues out at fea, and inflame the air round about to fuch a degree, that it is not possible for many days to approach the place, where the feast has been celebrated.

The action I have been relating was the last End of the of this war. Sylla being created Dictator fent war. Muræna orders to defift from carrying on the war. The fame Gabinius, who carried him thele orders, was also commissioned to reconcile the Kings Mithridates and Ariobarzanes. Every thing was executed conformably to the Dictator's orders: and Mithridates, to feal the reconciliation, gave Ariobarzanes and Gabinius a great feaft. At this feaft he proposed prizes. according to his custom, for those who should drink or eat most, or should excel either in finging, or cracking jokes. Gabinius was the only one, who had no share in these indecent disputes; and thereby sustained the dignity of his character and nation.

This is all History relates of Muræna's war with Mithridates, which continued almost three years. We find nothing in this account, that much deserves a triumph; unless that Sylla, knowing what trophies Mithridates had raifed of his pretended victory, was willing, in order to sustain the honour of the Roman name, to oppose them with Muræna's triumph.

Though the peace had been made, or rather renewed with Mithridates, Asia was not in tranquillity. The Pirates, of whom we shall have occasion to speak a great deal in the sequel, ruined the coasts by their ravages. It is probable, that it was to check them, Dolabella, who had been Prator the year before,

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and

A. R. 672, and must not be confounded with the Conful Ant. C. 80. of the same name, was fent into Cilicia with the title and power of Proconful. But being Verres. Dolabella, charged to make war with the Pyrates, he car-Proconful ried with him a Pirate more formidable to the Allies, in the person of Verres, whom he took Lieutefor his Lieutenant. Cicero gives us a long denant. tail of the depredations and violences of that Cic. in Yer. I.44, wretch. I shall extract from it a single fact, Scc. which will shew, how deplorable the condition of the subjects of the Empire was. It was become still worse since the proscriptions. Magistrates in the Provinces believed themselves authorized by that example to tyrannize over the people. (a) For after so horrible a cruelty practifed over citizens, what was there, that could feem unjust in respect to allies?

He is for taking away the daughter of Philodamus ; and afterwardscau-Ses Philodamus bimfelf and bis fon to be condemned to die.

Verres having obtained a commission from Dolabella, to go to Nicomedes King of Bithynia, went to Lampfacus, a city of the Hellefpont. He was a monster in whom united all vices; rapacious, cruel, and debauched to excefs. When he arrived at Lampfacus, he gave orders to his officers and followers to carry off the daughter of one of the most illustrious citizens of the place, who was called Philodamus. The father, a person venerable for his age, and the brother of the young maid, stood in her defence. A combat enfued, in which Verres's people were very roughly handled, and even one of his Lictors was killed. This was not all. The horror of fuch a fact raifed the whole city: the people mutinied, and piled up wood round

(a) Defitum est enim vi- cives tanta crudelitas. Cic. de

deri quidquam in focios ini- Off. II. 27. quum, quum existitistet in

the house inhabited by Verres. He was in dan-A. R. 672, ger of being burnt alive, if the Roman citizens Ant. C. 80. settled in the place, had not employed their prayers and representations with the inhabitants, who suffered themselves to be prevailed upon,

and permitted Verres to retire.

Lampfacus was not in Dolabella's province. That city was part of the government of Asia properly fo called, and had C. Nero for Proprætor. That Magistrate could not dispence with taking cognizance of a popular commotion, in which, blood had been shed, a Lictor killed, and a Lieutenant General in danger of being burnt alive. Verres apprehended the consequences of that affair; and not contented with labouring for his own fafety, he refolved to stifle the proofs of his guilt by destroying those, whom he had forced to arm against him. To attain this, he defired Dolabella to come and affist in the prosecution. Dolabella, who was not a much better man than his Lieutenant, and on his return from his government was found guilty of extortion, quitted his province, army, and the war, with which he was charged, and repaired to Nero, carrying with him his Tribunes and other officers, who with himself became judges in this affair. Verres himself, which one would think incredible: was one of the judges whilft he was at the same time a witness, and had taken care to fuborn an accuser. Philodamus on the contrary could find no defender, that would venture to speak in favour of innocence against so manifest an oppression. However, notwithftanding the credit of the president Dolabella, the number of the judges he had brought with him, who were his dependants, and the pref-Q. 3 in rum rate la 2

30 33

Ant. C. 80 injustice was so notorious, that all power could do at first was to obtain, not a condemnation of Philodamus, but a sentence, that the cause was not sufficiently clear, and that it was necessary

to proceed to a new trial.

Verres, alarmed at not being able to carry the affair at the first attempt, redoubled his activity and instances. Dolabella talked in an high tone upon it to Nero, who was of a timorous disposition. They did so much, that they extorted a second sentence, by which with a very small majority of suffrages, Philodamus and his son were condemned to have their heads cut off.

(a) "What a mournful fight, cries Cicero, was this for the whole province of Asia! A caffold was erected in Laodicæa, on which a father advanced in years was made to afcend, and on the other side his son, both to be executed, the one for having preserved his daughter from the attempts of an infamous ravisher, the other for having defended his father's life, and his sister's honour. They both shed tears in abundance, each lamenting not for himself, but the for for that

(a) Constituitur in foro Laodiceæ spectaculum acerbum, & miserum, & grave toti Asiæ provinciæ; grandis matu parens, adductus ad supplicium, ex altera parte fisius; ille, quòd pudicitiam liberum, hic, quòd vitam patris famamque sororis defenderat. Flebat uterque, non de suo supplicio, sed pater de fili morte, de patris silus. Quid lachrymarum ip-

fum Neronem putatis profudisse? quem sletum totius
Asiæ fuisse: quem suctum &
gemitum Lampsacenorum?
Securi percussos esse homines
innocentes, nobiles, socios
populi Romani atque amicos, propter hominis stagitiosissimi singularem nequitiam, atque improbissimam
cupiditatem! Cic. in Verr.
1. 1. 2. 76.

of the fon. Nero himfelf, who had condemned A. R. 672.

"them, could not refuse tears to their missortune: all Asia was afflicted for it; especially

"the people of Lamplacus, who railed fad cries and grouns even to heaven, on feeing innocent

perfons, illustrious in their country, and friends

" and allies of the Roman People, facrificed to the revenge and fecurity of an abandoned wretch, guilty of the most criminal violence."

Such were the horrible excesses perpetrated at this time by the Roman Magistrates in the Provinces; and in this manner did that Empire degenerate into Tyranny, (a) which in former times was so moderate, that the Romans might rather have been deemed the protectors, than the masters, of the universe.

In the mean time Sylla was active at Rome to strengthen the party, to which he had transferred the upperhand, and to give a durable consistence to the plan of government he had instituted. Besides the shedding of so much blood, the lopping of so many heads, and the authority of the Commonwealth replaced in the hands of the Senate and principal nobility, he was also for making himself creatures amongst the People. In order to this he enfranchised Tenthouten thousand slaves young and vigorous, who sand slaves all became Roman citizens, and according to by Sylla. Custom affurned the name of their patron Cor-Appian.

But the most powerful support which he pro-Lands disvided for his party, were the military colonies tributed to that he distributed throughout all Italy. Hav-the Officers ing conficated the lands of a great number of ers of municipal cities, which had favoured his ene-twenty-

(a) Illud patrocinium Orbis terræ verlus quam imperium legions.

4

mies,

A. R. 672 mies, he divided those lands amongst the officers Ant. C. 80. and foldiers of three and twenty legions. Thefe amounted to above an hundred thousand fighting men, who being indebted to him for their eftablishment, were consequently very strongly concerned to support his laws, on which the least attack could not be made, without the hazard

of their whole fortunes.

By all these regulations Sylla enabled himself to abdicate the supreme authority, and to return into private life, as he did the year following. He began by refusing the Consulship, in which the People offered to continue him, and he caused P. Servilius Vatia, and Ap. Claudius to be elected Confuls.

A. R. 673. Ant. C. 79.

P. SERVILIUS VATIA, who was afterwards furnamed Isauricus.

AD. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

cates the Distator-Mip. Reflections event.

Sylla abdi- It was therefore in this year, that Sylla, without being forced by any body, and at the time when the confent of the citizens feemed to legitimate his usurpation, renounced the upon that highest fortune, to which any mortal had ever attained before him, and voluntarily abdicated the Dictatorship. It is superfluous to say, that the whole universe was ftrangely surprized at an event so little expected. Even to this day it is thought and spoke of with astonishment. People cannot conceive neither that a man who had confronted fo many dangers, and undergone so many labours, for the attainment of dominion, should afterwards divest himself of it with his own free-will; nor even that it could confift with his personal security to abandon himself without defence to the mercy of

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that prodigious number of enemies, which he A. R. 673. had made by deluging Rome, and all Italy with torrents of blood; having killed an hundred thousand Romans in battles: having deftroved in a ftill more odious manner by the profcriptions ninty Senators, of whom fifteen were persons of Consular dignity, and above two thousand Knights; and lastly having exercifed his terrible revenge upon whole cities. fome of which he had difmantled, and others totally destroyed; so that he thought he had shewn favour to those, of which he had only confiscated the lands, or demolished the citadels. bollow noise deducted de weepenen art

If I may be allowed to add my reflections upon fo fingular a fact, I shall first fay, that the danger was not fo great for Sylla, as it might appear. He had lodged the whole power of the state in the hands of his partisans. All those, who possessed any office, or had any credit in the Commonwealth, all those, who had purchased the estates of the proscribed, all those who had received lands and fettlements from him, were highly interested to defend both Svlla and his laws. The event justifies this observation. Sylla died in his bed: whereas Cæsar, who had * derided him, and had observed a different conduct, was daggered in the fenate. And as to Sylla's laws, they were respected long after his death, as we shall have frequent occasion to observe.

Suetonius (Cæf. c. 77.) aword Dictatura, which figni-tells us, that Cæfar faid, Sul- fies Dictatorship, and at the fies Dictatorship, and at the Same time refers to the cuftom of Grammarians and other pun not easily translated, in teachers, who dictate plans and leffons to their scholars.

lam nescisse literas, qui Dictaturam deposuerit. This is a which Cafar plays upon the

A. R. 673. As to what regards his difgust of sovereign power, it is fill less susprizing, that Sylla fhould have forme feelings of that kind. He had always loved pleafure: and the hurry of bufiness and public affairs is very disagreeable to a voluptuous person. As dong as his ambition was inflamed by difficulty and dangers, it took place of his natural indolence. But when farisfied, it presented nothing but empty and imaginary goods, compounded with anxieties and every kind of torment, it duffered him to fall back again into his natural disposition; and he corrected one vice by another.

Ceremony of the abdication. Appian.

The ceremony of his abdication passed in the calmest manner imaginable. He came to the Forum with his Lidtors and Guard, afcended the tribunal of harangues, and from thence declared to the affembled People, that he abdicated the Dictatorship. He was even so bold to add that he was ready to give an account of his administration to whomfoever should require it of him. He afterwards descended, dismissed his Lictors and Guards, and walked fedately up and down the Forum, accompanied with a small number of his friends. The whole People confidered him with a kind of amazement, and even difmay: and they could fcarce believe their eyes in respect to so strange an alteraand Soffet's flawer offers were respected for tion.

Sylla is in- There was but one young man, who, when fulted by a Sylla withdrew, began to attack him with injurious expressions: and as no body took upon them to filence him, emboldened by impunity, he followed him quite to his house, continuing all the way to load him with reproaches. Sylla, who had so often made the greatest perfons and the most powerful cities feel the

dread-

dreadful effects of his anger, suffered the info-A. R. 673. lence of that audacious youth with perfect tran-Ant. C. 79. quillity. He only faid on entering his house: See bere a young fellow, who will prevent any other, that may be in the like flation with me, from Reast of baving any thoughts of quitting it. A very fenfi-Lietalis. ble reflection; and which it is not at all necessary to take with Appian for a prediction of what Cæfar did afterwards.

Sylla in renouncing his office, did not entirely He rerenounce, the city, nor the publick affairs: and proaches Plutarch relates, that being defirous to prevent Pompey Lepidus from being cholen Consul for the en-ing made firing year, and not being able to fucceed, be-Lepidus cause Pompey had supported the candidate Conful. with his whole credit, and had carried it, he Syll. &c called that young man to him, all elate from Pomp. his fuccess, and told him: You have great reason to triumph. It is a glorious action, to have caused Lepidus to be chosen Conful, and even before Casullus; that is, to have caused the preference to be given, to the most violent of all the seditious against the most virtuous citizen of Rome. For she rest keep yourself well upon your . guard; for you have just been arming an enemy against yourself. He spoke truth as the event will fhew.

Sylla resolved afterwards to offer a tenth He gives a part of his estate to Hercules. He made a great feast feast upon this occasion, in which he gave ban- to the Peoquets to the People during several days with Plut, in fuch profusion, that a great quantity of provi-Sylla. fions were thrown every day into the Tiber, and wine was drank at it forty years old and upwards, as a supply of the manner of the

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In fuch a man as Sylla every thing is of con-A. R. 673. Ant, C. 79 sequence: and I shall not be afraid to insert in this place what Plutarch relates of the death of

his wife, and his fecond marriage.

Deathof Metella.

During the feaft, of which I have just been fpeaking, Metella fell dangeroufly ill. A religious Festival was not to be interrupted and profaned by the doleful things of death and. mourning. He however made her magnificent obsequies; and that in contempt of the laws himself had passed for fixing this kind of expences. He was not more strict in observing those, he had made against the luxury of the table. To mitigate his grief, and confole his widowhood, he paffed the days in great and fumptuous entertainments with his usual company of Minftrels and Comedians.

Sylla marries again with Va-Leria.

Soon after Metella's death, Sylla being at the Theatre, was feated near a young Lady of condition, called Valeria, fifter of the Orator Hortenfius, and lately separated from her husband. That Lady paffing behind Sylla to go to her place, laid her hand upon him, and pulled away a piece of the fringe of his robe. Sylla turning about, she said to him, There is nothing strange in what I do. You are fortunate ; and I am very glad to bave any thing of yours, that may make me so. This beginning pleased Sylla, and was followed by looks and fmiles on both fides during the play. It ended in a marriage, upon which Plutarch (a) observes with reason, that supposing, as he inclines to believe, Valeria, prudent and virtuous, there

⁽α) Σύλλας ει κ) τα μάλισα σώφρονα η γενιαία, άλλ έχ ix σωφρονο κ καλής έγημεν apxis, of six agreepid pergazie

dixm mapaGangels up' Is to מוס צוגם של מימום בשדם שמלים zireiodai wifuner.

was at least no great prudence and virtue in A.R. 673. what determined Sylla to espouse her; and that Ant. C. 79. it ill suited that old warrior, to suffer himself to be catched like a young coxcomb, by such trivial baits, that are usually the source of the most loose and shameful passions.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

A. R. 674. Ant. C. 78.

Sylla did not long enjoy the rest he had procured himself by abdicating the Dictator-

fhip.

them.

He had retired to his country-house at Appian. Cumæ: and there he amused his leifure either Plut. with innocent diversions, as hunting and fishing, or at feafts, that breathed nothing but diffolution and debauch. In the midft of these sylla is pleasures, he was seized with an horrible dif-seized ease, which he diffembled to himself as long as with the it was possible, and which he even nourished ease. and increased by his intemperance. This distemper was called the loufy difease. His intrails were corrupted, and his flesh was full of lice, but in fuch abundance, that though many persons were employed night and day in cleaning him, what they took away were nothing in comparison with what were produced incesfantly. It was in vain to wash and shift him: every thing was to no purpose. His cloaths, the linen with which he was rubbed in the bath, even his victuals were covered with that nauseous vermin, the multitude and rapid propagation of which, beyond all credibility, rendered all the pains that could be taken fruitalia mandit to enjoy perfect manapillity with

In this condition Sylla, no doubt to divert

A. R. 674-Ant. C. 78. He gives laws to the inbabitants of Puzzuoli.

his thoughts, if that had been possible, from a terrible evil, and his approaching end, fought to procure himself some employment. Poor resource! Though the only one that human wisdom was capable of supplying. Let us not admire a frivolous and ineffectual courage against an avenging God. Only Religion affords folid confolations to a Christian, who knows and adores in the feverest trials the hand of a Father, and who by patience turns the chastifements he suffers into meritorious offerings. and fuch as are capable of difarming the wrath of him who chaftifes. Sylla even employed himself in public affairs: and ten days before his death being informed, that the people of Puzzuoli in his neighbourhood were at variance amongst themselves, he drew them up a body of laws for their better regulation. He worked also upon the Commentaries of his life, which I have frequently cited after Plutarch: and he even added things to it but two days before his death; fo that through a remarkable fingularity, he not only forefaw his end, but had even spoke of it in some measure. For having all his life-time confided in Aftrologers and dreams, he retained that weakness till the approach of death. He accordingly finished his Memoirs by faying, the Chaldmans had foretold him, that after having lived happy, he should die in the utmost height of his successes and prosperity. He added, that the preceding night he had feen a child of his by Metella in a dream, that had died a little before its mother; and that this child had exhorted him to banish all anxiety, and prepare to rejoin him and Me-

tella, in order to enjoy perfect tranquillity with

He works
upon the
Memoirs of
bis life,
till within two
days of bis
death.

them. Sylla was far from thinking of the A.R. 674. punishment reserved for him by the Divine Ant. C. 78.

justice.

The day after this dream, he made his will, Sylla's in which he remembered all his friends by Will. fome legacies, except Pompey, whom he did Appian. Plut. in not nominate amongst his son's guardians, that Pomp. & he left almost in the cradle. The glory of that Luc. young Captain seems to have excited some jealousy in Sylla, and induced a coldness in respect to him. On the contrary he expressed great affection for Lucullus; to whom he inscribed his Commentaries, and made him guardian to his son. And this was the commencement of the pique between Lucullus and Pompey, the effects of which were carried to a very great height.

The day before he died, he was informed Last viethat Granius, the Magistrate of Puzzuoli, and lince of debtor to the Community of that city, deferred Sylla. He dies. payment, expecting his death to refuse it openly, Phut in and defraud his fellow citizens. Sylla in his last Sylla moments resumed his natural character: so little do men change. Violent and bloody, he caused Granius to be brought to his chamber, and ordered his slaves to strangle him. The anger and agitation he was in, made an abscess burst; and he voided a great quantity of blood and matter. His strength sailed him; he passed the night very ill, and died the next day at sixty

years of age.

DIAPCE

Such was the death of the fortunate Sylla. Reflexion "He (a) is the only one of all mankind, as upon the furname of Pliny Falix,

Fortunate,

hoc sevi. Felicis fibi cogno-

men afferuit L. Sylla, civili offumed by nempelanguine, & patriz op. Sylla.

pugnatione

A. R. 674. 66 Pliny observes, or at least the first, who Ant. C. 78. 40 prefumed to affume that furname, fo little " fuiting human nature. And upon what pretentions did he claim it? For having shed the blood of his fellow-citizens; for having " twice taken his country by force of arms; " for having been capable of profcribing for " many thousand Romans. O mistaken goodof fortune! But had not the manner of his ed death fomething more dreadful in it, than the fate of those he had proscribed? What se good fortune was that of a man, whose in-" trails corrupt and devour themselves, and er perpetually breed thousands of executioners " for their own destruction!" He boasted that he of all mankind had best rewarded his friends. and revenged himself upon his enemies. But he experienced in this life the divine vengeance. and a vengeance highly capable of humbling human pride.

Sylla's obfequies. Appian.

The death of Sylla immediately occasioned great and warm contests. The Senate, with Catulus one of the two Consuls at their head, was for having the last honours paid to Sylla with pomp and magnificence, and decreed, that his obsequies should be celebrated, and his body interred in the field of Mars: the other Consul Lepidus opposed this. Pompey on this occasion shewed himself a generous friend; and forgetting the coldness of Sylla for him towards the end of his life, he expressed all possible zeal for honouring his memory. He employed his whole credit, and did not spare either

Plut. in Sull. & Pomp.

pugnatione adoptatum.
O prava interpretatio!
Age, non exitus vitæ ejus,
omnium proferiptorum ab

illo calamitate crudelior fuit, erodente se ipfo corpore & supplicia sibi gignente? Plin. vii. 43.

prayers or menaces; and laftly contributed A. R. 674. more than any one to fecure all the tranquillity Ant. C. 78. necessary at the magnificent funeral, that was

prepared for Sylla.

His body was carried from his house at Applan. Cumz, where he died, to Rome upon a bed of state, all glittering with gold. He was dreft in the ornaments of Triumph. Four and twenty Lictors walked before it; with the rods and axes, as when he was Dictator. He was escorted by a great number of persons on horseback and trumpets. Those who had formerly ferved under him came industriously to pay their last duties to their General; and as they arrived, they took their ranks, walked in order, and formed rather a numerous army

than, a proceffion baupig vada, bas,

When all this pomp arrived at Rome, it augmented still much more both in number and magnificence. On the day of the obsequies more than two thousand crowns were carried. prefents of the cities and provinces, where Sylla had commanded, and made war; of the Legions who had ferved under his command; and even of private persons. The colleges of the Priests and Vestals surrounded the body. The Senate came next with the Magistrates invested with the ornaments of their dignities. After them walked the Roman Knights; the troops with their golden eagles and arms glittering with filver closed the march. A prodigious number of trumpets founded mournful airs, adapted to this folernn ceremony; and those were answered by acclamations not tumultuous. but made regularly. The Senate led the way, and was followed by the Knights, the army, R. and VOL. X.

Fomp.

A. R. 674 and lastly by the People, the multitude of whom Ant. C. 78 was immense.

It was customary for these processions to pass through the Forum; and there, the nearest relation, ascending the Tribunal of harangues, pronounced a speech in praise of the deceased and his ancestors. Faustus, Sylla's son, being them an infant, the best Orator in Rome was choson to perform that office. Appian makes no other mention of him.

After the funeral Oration, fome * young and able-bodied Senators took up the bed of flate upon their shoulders, and carried it to the field of Mars, where the funeral pile was erected. The quantity of perfumes confumed on this occasion is incredible. The Ladies were at this expence, and they piqued themselves upon equalling or even furpassing the magnificence of all the rest of the ceremony in this respect. For besides two hundred and ten litters filled with perfumes of every kind, a statue of Sylla of a moderate fize, and that of a Lictor placed before him, were made with the most precious incense and cinnamon. The Knights and principal Officers of the troops fet fire to the funeral pile.

Sylla had ordered, that his body should be burnt, contrary to the custom of his house. For down to him all the Cornelii Patricians had been buried in the ground. But as through a meanness of revenge, he had caused the corpse of Marius to be dug up, he apprehended

^{*} I am afraid, that Ap- me, that the Senators, in the fian has transferred to Sylla time of the Commonwealth, what he saw done in his time should descend so low as to in respect to the Emperors. carry a corpse upon their should be seems hardly probable to ders.

the same treatment of his own, and resolved A. R. 674. that nothing should remain of him but ashes. His tomb was still to be seen in the field of Mars in Plutarch's time; and there was an epitaph upon it, said to be composed by himself, the sense of which was, what we have said above, that he had surpassed both friends and enemies, the one in the good, and the other in the ill, he had done them."

ROMAN HISTORY

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ROMAN HISTORY.

WHICH contains the wars of Lepidus, Sertorius, Spartacus, and several detached Facts; amongst which will be found some accounts of Cicero and Cæsar: the whole contained within the space of seven years, from the year 674, to the year 681, inclusively.

SECT. I.

Sallust's History lost. Sylla's example fatal to liberty. Character of Pompey's ambition. Lepidus undertakes to raise the conquered party, Idea of his character and conduct. Discourse of Lepidus to the People. Reslexion upon his scheme. Catullus and all the persons of worth expose him. Lepidus assembles troops, and puts himself at their head. Accommodation concluded with him. He returns a second time with

with troops against Rome, and demands a fecond Confulship. Speech of Philippus against Lepidus. Catulus and Pompey give Lepidus battle, and gain the victory. Election of Confuls. Pompey causes Brutus the father of bim, who killed Cafar, to be flain. Lepidus defeated a fecond time, goes to Sardinia, and dies. Moderation of the victorious party. Pompey is fent into Spain against Servorius. History of the war with Sertorius traced from its origin. Sertorius fets out from Italy, and goes to Spain. He strengthens bimself there, and particularly gains the affection of the People. Annius, sent by Sylla, drives bim out of Spain, and obliges bim to keep the fea. Sertorius conceives thoughts of retiring to the fortunate islands. He goes to Africa. He is invited by the Eustanians to put bimfelf at their bead. Great qualities of Sertorius. Idea of bis exploits in Spain. Me-tellus Pius, sent against bim, experiences great He undertakes a siège, which Serdifficulties. torius obliges bim to raife. Great successes of Sertorius. His address in commanding the Bar-barians. Hind of Sertorius. He disciplines, and gives laws to the Spaniards. He takes care of the education of the children of the principal families. Incredible attachment of the Spaniards to bim. He reserves all the rights of Sovereignty to the Romans. His love for his country, and for his mother. The troops of Perperna force their leader to join Sertorius. He corrects the blind impetuofity of the Barbarians by a comical, but instructive, Shew. He subdues the Characitanians by an ingenious stratagem. Pompey arrives in Spain. He is baffled before the city of Laurona. Action of justice of Sertorius. Win-R 3

tor quarters. The armies take the field. Mes tellus gains a great battle over Hirtulejus. Battle of Sucrona between Sertorius and Pompey. Saying of Sertorius upon Metellus and Pompey. Sertorius's bind lost and found again. Good intelligence between Metellus and Pompey. General Action between Sertorius on one Side, and Metellus and Pompey on the other. Sertorius dismisses bis troops, who re-assemble soon after. Immoderate joy of Metellus on the occasion of bis pretended victory over Sertorius. Pomp and luxury of the feasts given bim. He sets a price upon the bead of Sertorius. Metellus and Pompey, barrassed and fatigued by Sertorius, retire into very remote quarters. Mitbridates sends an Embasy to Sertorius, to ask bis alliance. Haughty answer of Sertorius. Surprize of Mitbridates. The alliance is concluded. Threatening letter of Pompey to the Senate, who sends bim money. Perperna cabals against Sertorius. Desertion and treason punished with rigour. Cruelty of Sertorius in respect to the children, whom he caused to be brought up at Osca. Reflexion of Plutarch on that head. Conspiracy of Perperna against the life of Sertorius. Perperna becomes bead of the party. He is defeated by Pompey, who causes bim to be killed without vouchsafing to fee bim, and burns all Sertorius's papers. Peace restored in Spain. Tropby and triumphs of the wistors. The troops of Perforna force their one Corfolists. He corrects the count inneces-

ply of who Dakwarians by a comeal take intransferies. There, the fieldness the Charactermans by an applicate product Powers a-

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

The History of the Consulship of Lepidus, Sallus and of the following years, was not only in-History cluded in the great work of Livy, but had been treated by Sallust. If the writings of either one or the other of those great Historians had come down intire to us, we should not have so much cause to complain. But they have been lost; and I must go on, with the assistance of Freinshemius, to collect detached fragments of facts, where I find them scattered, in order to compose as good an whole as I can.

Sylla was dead: but his example subsisted, Sylla's and was in many respects pernicious to the li-example fatal to berty of Rome.

In the first place he had taught the Roman Generals to attach the troops to their persons, and to make them subservient to the ambition of their Chief, even against the Commonwealth, who had consided them to him.

In the second, by distributing the lands of the Author of Citizens amongst the soldiers, he corrupted them & Defor ever, as a Writer of abundance of wit ob-cadence des serves. For from that moment there was not a Romains. man of the army, who did not wait an occasion, p. 106. that might put the estates of his fellow-citizens into his hands.

And lastly, the Dictatorship, peaceably held by him above two years, and of which he divested himself solely by his own choice, was an object, which could not fail to inslame the cupidity of every ambitious person, that should be in a condition to pretend to it. The prejudice, that the Romans were incapable of being enstantial and the state of the A. R. 674 flaved, was at an end. The plan for subjecting them was entirely laid down; and the question only was, to follow it. Accordingly Pompey laboured all his life with that view. He milled his aim: but Cæfar fucceeded.

Charaster ambition.

When I compare Pompey with Sylla and of Pompey's Cæsar, it is with a difference, that has been judiciously observed by Velleius. "He (a) was greedy of power; but would not usurp " it; his defire was, that it should be conferer red voluntarily upon him. For this reason " he shewed himself an equally great General in war, and moderate citizen in the interior " government of the Commonwealth, except when he apprehended having an equal. In " every other respect his conduct was entirely " laudable. He was a firm friend, and by no " means an implacable enemy; faithful and " fincere in reconciliation, and very eafy in " accepting fatisfaction; generally moderate in " the use of his power; in a word, almost " exempt from vices, except it were one of the " greatest, not to be able to suffer, in a free " city, the mistress of the Universe, of which " all the citizens were equal by constitution, "that any one of them should be his equal in

> (a) Fuit (Pompeius) potentiæ quæ honoris causa ad eum deferretur, non ut ab co occuparetur, cupidiffimus; dux bello peritissimus, civis in toga, nifi ubi veteretur ne quem haberet parem; modeftiffimus; amicitiarum tenax, in offensis bienda fatisfactione facilli-order chis mod ont and

mus; potentia fua nunquam aut rare ad impotentiam usus; penè omnium vitiorum expers, nisi numeraretur inter maxima, in civitate libera dominaque gentium, indignari, quam omnes cives jure haberet pares, quemquam æqualem exorabilis, in reconcilianda dignitate conspicere. Vell. and conduct will be useful in the sequel. For the is now going to act the principal part in the Lepidus Commonwealth, till Cæsar first shares his power endeavours with him, and afterwards subverts it. The torsinstate Consul Lepidus, in endeavouring to faise the quered conquered party, gave Pompey occasion to con-party. tinue acquiring glory by arms, and to augment his credit.

That Conful was far from being capable of Idea of bis executing fo great a delign as that which he had character formed. He was a man of neither morals, nor and contalents, and who resembled those, whose place he aspired at, only in ambition. Some years before, he had governed Sicily as Prætor, and Afcon. had been guilty of extortions, that had drawn Pedi. upon him criminal profecutions, when he returned to Rome. But he had found out the fecret to bring the People into his interests: and his accusers seeing him favoured by the multitude, did not dare to purfue the charge they had brought against him. During Sylla's Dictatorship, Lepidus, who was for being confidered afterwards as the avenger of the profcribed, made no fcruple to improve the occalion for inriching himself, and fattened with the blood of the unfortunate. He owns the fact himself in the speech we have of his amongst the fragments of Sallust; and he only endeayours to excuse himself under the frivolous pretext of having been forced to it fear for of drawing upon himself the indignation of the victor. The plunder of Sicily, and the spoils of the profcribed, enabled him to purchase the Confulfhip; and as foon as he faw himfelf in office, even in the life-time of Sylla, he began to embroil affairs.

The

A. R. 674. The accounts we have being very defective speech of in respect to the sacts I am to speak of in this Lepidus to place, I cannot do better, to give an idea of the People. Lepidus's project, than to extract the principal passages of the speech I have just mentioned. It is an harangue to the People, in which, without discovering himself entirely, he however sufficiently gives us to understand what his views are.

He supposes every where in it Sylla to be master of the Commonwealth, because in reaality, though he had abdicated the Dictatorship, it was his party that ruled. After having began by inveighing against his person, and the tyranny under which he made the Commonwealth groan, he attacks his adherents. (a) "I cannot be sufficiently surprized, ed, said he, when I see Sylla's partizans, persons of the greatest names, and to whom their ancestors left the most glorious examinant, to purchase at that price, the power of tyrannizing over you. They chuse to be doubly unjust, to you and to themselves,

(a) Satellites quidem ejus (Syllæ) homines maxumi nominis, non minus optumis majorum exemplis, nequeo fatis mirari, dominationis in vos fervitium fuum mercedem dant: & utrumque per injuriam malunt, quam optumo jure liberi agere: præclara Brutorum, atque Æmiliorum, & Lutatiorum proles, geniti ad eaquæ majores virtute peperere fubvertunda. Nam quid à Pyrrho, Annibale, Philip-

poque, & Antiocho defenfum est aliud, quam libertas
& sua cuique sedes; neu
cui, nisi legibus, pareremus?
que cuncta sevus isse Romulus, quasi ab externis rapta,
tenet; non tot exercituum
clade, neque consulis, &
aliorum principum, quos fortuna belli consumpserat, satiatus: sed tum crudelior,
quum plerosque secunda res
in miserationem ex ira vertunt, Sall. Hist. 1, I.

rather than to live as citizens of a free State. A. R. 674
This worthy posterity of the Brutuses,
the Æmilii and Lutatii seem born to deprive this Empire of all, that the virtue of
their ancestors has acquired it. For what
defended it against the arms of Pyrrhus, Han-

"nibal, Philip, and Antiochus, but the liberty of our country, and the tranquillity in which every one securely possessed the in-

"heritance of his ancestors, and knew no other masters than the laws? Now this is

" exactly what this cruel tyrant keeps in his hands, as spoils taken from a foreign enemy. His thirst of blood and slaughter was

" not fatiated with the destruction of so many illustrious citizens as have perished in battle:

"Prosperity, which mollifies others, and makes pity succeed anger, has only made him more

" cruel and inhuman.".

From so vehement an invective he deduces a conclusion, that naturally follows, and exhorts the People to rise up against such a tyranny, and shake off so odious an yoke. And after having described in the strongest terms the slavery, to which they were now reduced, the whole People deprived of their lands and estates, the laws, judgments, revenues, provinces, the sate of Kings, all in the power of a single person, he adds: "Does (a) there remain any other choice for men of courage to make, than of delivering themselves from injustice,

(a) Est ne viris reliqui aliud quam solvere injuriam, aut mori per virtutem? quoniam quidem unum omnibus sipem natura vel serro

enounded and

venual aux dono date.

feptis statuit; neque quisquam extremam necessitatem nihil aufus, nisi muliebri ingenio, exspectat. A. R. 674. ** or to die with courage; as after all death is Ant. C. 78. cc an inevitable law, from which neither walls nor armed guards can defend any one; and it is abject cowardice to walt for the last ex-

tremities, without dating any thing in defence

of oneself against them."

It is easy to conceive, that Sylla could not but treat a man, capable of fuch language, as a seditious person. Lepidus to obviate that reproach artfully employs all that was odious in the conduct of his adversary. " I am (4) a feditious person; says he, if Sylla's opinion is to be taken, because I complain of the rewards obtained by fedition and civil wars; and because I claim the rights of a " free and real peace, I am to be confidered as defirous to renew the war. Undoubted-" ly you will not be able to fublift, and pos-" fels the empire in fafety and tranquillity, if the last and lowest of mankind, if wretched freedmen do not peaceably enjoy the for-" tunes of others, and iquander that profulely, which cost the right owners so much labour and sweat to obtain; if you do not approve the murders of so many innocents, proscribed on account of their riches, the horrible " punishments inflicted upon the most illustrious persons, the desolation of the city, made a desert by banishments and slaughters, the

(a) Verum ego feditiosus ut Sulla ait, quia præmia turbarum queror, & bellum cupiens, quia jura pacis repeto. Scilicet quia non aliter salvi satisque tuti in imperio eritis, nisi Vettius Picens, scriba Cornelius, aliena bene parata

prodegerint, nifi approbaveritis, omnes proscriptiones innoxiorum ob divitias, cruciatus virorum illustrium, vastatam urbem fugâ & cædibus, bona civium miserorum, quasi Cimbricam prædam, venum aut dono data.

" possessions

" possessions of the unfortunate citizens fold, A. R. 674. or given away still more unworthily, as if Ant. S.

they were spoils taken from Cimbri."

Lepidus to encourage the Romans to take arms against the sway of Sylla, represented his party as weak: he inlifted upon his having made a great number of malecontents by the unworthy preference he had given to low wretches, still more contemptible for their manners than the balenels of their origin. He pretended, that he was supported only by a small number of partifans, black with crimes; and that the troops themselves who had served under him, would not fail to espouse the side of liberty. "My (a) greatest considence, says "he, is in a victorious army, who by so "many perils and wounds have acquired no-thing but to give themselves a Tyrant. Un-" less we imagine their delign was to subvert the Tribunitian power, which their ancestors " had established by arms; or that they intend-ed to deprive themselves of the protection of "the Laws, and the authority of the Judicature. They would undoubtedly be finely. " rewarded by those marches, and those uncul-"tivated forests, to which they are banished informuch that batted and infamy are for them, and rewards for a small number of

(a) Maxumam mihi fidu-ciam parit victor exercitus, cui per tot vulnera & labores nihil przeter tyrannum quæ-firum est. Nisi forte Tribuniciam potestatem ever-fum profecti funt, per arma conditant a majoribus suis; utique sura & judicia sibimet extorquerent: egregià scilicet

mercede, quum relegari in paludes & fylvas, contumeliam atque invidiam fuam, præmia penes paucos intelligerent. Quam igitur tanto agmine atcundæ res mirè funt vitis obtentui: quibus labefactatis, quam formidatus antea eft, tam contemnetur! Sile conferment beile

A. R. 674." vile flatterers. Wherefore then, adds he, Ant. C. 78. " does Sylla seem so well guarded, and with

" fuch great pomp? It is because prosperity

wonderfully covers vices and weak fides.

But on the first differace you will see him fall

into as great contempt, as he is now for-

" midable."

Nothing was wanting to so warm and vehement an exhortation, except Lepidus's offering himself as Leader. He did so, and concluded his discourse thus (a). "I could content myself with this supreme magistracy, to which you have raised me by your suffrages. This sufficed for sustaining the glory of my ancestors, to satisfy my ambition, and even for my security. But I did not believe, that I ought solely to regard my own advantage; and I preferred liberty attended with dangers to a safe and quiet slavery. If therefore you approve my sentiments, come Romans, and with the aid of the gods, follow the Consul

"M. Æmilius, who is ready to put himself at your head, for the re-establishment of the

" publick liberty."

We see by this discourse, that the design of Lepidus was to destroy all that Sylla had done; to form a party for himself, by raising the meanest of the People, always ready through their misery to hearken to those, who promise them a change; to give those hopes of being re-established in their estates, who had been deprived

(a) Mihi quanquam per hoc summum imperium satis quæsitum erat nomini majorum dignitati, atque etiam præsidio, tamen non suit consilium privatas opes sacere: potiorque visa est peri-

culosa libertas quieto servitio. Quæ si probatis, adeste, Quirites, & bene juvantibus diis, M. Æmilium consulem ducem & auctorem sequimini ad recipiundam libertatem.

of them; and to recal all that remained of the A. R. 674. proferibed. All this had the colour of justice. Reflexion But besides, that the intentions of Lepidus were upon the not what he pretended, and that he laboured projett of only for himself, in feigning a great zeal for the Lepidus. public, there are occasions, in which too strict an observance of justice becomes itself unjust, and in which there is a necessity, that particulars fuffer, in order that the State itself may subfift. Sylla had infolently abused his victory. But however by supporting his institutions, the Commonwealth might enjoy some tranquillity. To cancel them, was to plunge it again into all the horrors, from which it had scarce emerged. Florus compares it to a fick person, (a) that has occasion for rest; and to a wounded one, for whom there was reason to fear taking off the dreffings, even with defign to promote the cure.

Accordingly all the persons of worth, with Catulus Catulus at their head, opposed the designs of and all the Lepidus, as soon as they became evident. But, worth opas it happens commonly enough, they acted at pose him. first with indolence, and instead of checking the evil in its birth by some degree of vigour, they gave him time by their inactivity to augment his force, and to make himself formidable.

The designs of Lepidus had no great conse- Lepidus afquences during Sylla's life. He also endeavour- sembles ed ineffectually, as we have faid, to prevent puts bimand disturb his obsequies. But they were scarce self at folemnized, before division openly broke out their head. between him and Catulus. Lepidus had gained Sall. Hift,

(a) Expediebat quafiægræ ne vulnera curatione ipfa re-Appian. sauciæque Reipublicæ re- scinderentur. Flor. III. 23. Flor. III.

quiescere quomodocumque,

A. B. 674 the populace by largeffes. He raifed Hetruria. where the remains of Marius's party had preferved and defended themselves vigorously during two years in Volaterra. He drew toge-Volaterra ther all the profcribed, who had escaped death. in Tuscany. And when his partisans were sufficiently numerous to form an army, he took off the mask, and went to put himself at their head.

His forces were not yet confiderable: and Accommodation con-Catulus was of opinion, that he should be driven to extremities. But the majority of the Senate with him. were inclined to lenity. The affair was turned into negotiation: Deputies were fent to Lepidus, and an accommodation was concluded. the principal conditions of which were, that the two Confuls should take an oath not to employ arms against each other, and that Lepidus should have the government of Gallia Narbonensis, with the command of an army. Thus as his rapine (a) had gained him the Confulship, the sedition he had excited, was rewarded with the government of a Province. These were great encouragements for a factious man, and highly capable of inducing him to continue practices, in which he had been to fuc-

Accordingly when Lepidus went to take up-He returns on him the command of the troops, which he a fecond time to Romewith was to carry with him into his Province, he troops, and did not make halte to return to Rome, though, demands a it was his function to hold the affemblies for the fecond Con-election of the Confuls. He was for letting the sulfbip. year of his Confulship elapse; conceiving, that

cessful.

eft. Salluft. Hift. I. in Or. Rhile daup rade bequit seccreque Rebublica re-

anaga (a) Ex rapinis Confulatum, ob feditionem provinciam cum exercitu adeptus

his oath obliged him only during the time he A.R. 674 was in office, and that as foon as that expired, he should be at liberty to use the forces against his adversaries, which they had the imprudence to put into his hands. Accordingly the year expired without the election of Consuls: it was necessary to nominate Interreges successively to govern the Commonwealth: and Lepidus, having left in Gallia Cisalpina a body of troops under M. Brutus, to keep that country in his interests, advanced towards Rome with the greatest part of his forces, demanding a second Consulsing.

INTERREGNUM.

E have amongst the fragments of Sallust A. R. 675. the harangue spoke on this subject in the Ant. C. 77. Senate by the orator Philip, of whom I have al- Speech of ready had occasion to speak several times: against Leand it is principally from the lights I could ex-pidus. tract from that discourse, that I have disposed the facts I have just related.

Philippus first reproaches the Senators in it with the indolence of the conduct they observed in respect to a seditious man, of which he had taken the advantage for making himself formidable. "(a) When instead of acting with

(a) At tum erat Lepidus latro cum calonibus & paucis ficariis, quorum remo non diurna mercede vitam mutuaverit. Nunc est Proconsul cum imperio, non empto, sed dato à vobis, cum legatis adhuc jure parentibus: & ad eum concurrêre homines omnium ordinum cor-

ruptissumi, slagrantes inopia & cupidinibus, scelerum conscientia exagitatis, quibus quies in sedicionibus, in pace turbæ sunt. Hi tumultum ex tumultu, bellum ex bello ferunt, Saturnini olim, post Sulpicii, dein Marii Damasippique, nunc Lepidisatellites.

constancy,

A.R. 675.16 constancy, said he, to suppress a faction, And C. 77. " then only in its birth, you entered into a " treaty with Lepidus, he was only a thief, " supported by a few rabble, and a small number of Cut-throats, every one of whom was " ready to risque his blood and life for bread. "He is now a Proconful, invested with a " command he has not bought, but received " from you, attended by Lieutenant Generals, " who obey him as their lawful Commander. " And from all parts he has drawn together " around him all that is most corrupt in the different orders of the state, men whose indi-" gence and vices make capable of daring any " thing, incessantly tormented with the re-" membrance of their past crimes; who know er no repose but in seditions, and to whom of peace is a violent situation. These are the " men, who make infurrection fucceed to in-" furrection, and civil war to civil war; ad-" herents formerly to Saturnius, then to Sul-" picius, afterwards to Marius and Damasip-" pus, and laftly to Lepidus." gives of Lepidus and his conduct. The in-

We now come to the picture, that Philip vective is of the most vehement kind. " Are " you (a) moved, faid he to the Senators, with the propofals made you by Lepidus? He " requires, that what appertains to every one " should be restored, and is rich only by the of fortunes of others: he is for having the laws " founded upon the right of war abolished, and

animos movent? qui placere buniciam potestatem restitui, ait sua cuique reddi, & aliena ex qua omnes discordiæ actenet; belli jura rescindi, censæ. quum ipfe armis cogat;

(a) An Lepidi mandata concordiæ gratia plebei Tri-

he reduces us to that by the force of arms: A. R. 675. " he demands, for the fake of peace and con-Ant. C. 77.

cord, that the Tribunitian power should be

" re established, from whence all our civil dis-

" fenfions have arose."

Then addressing himself to him, as if prefent: " O thou, cried he, (a) the most vile and " most impudent of mankind, will you perfwade us that you are moved by the indi-" gence and tears of the citizens, whilst you " possess nothing that you have not acquired " by arms or injuffice? You ask a second " Confulship, as if you had refigned the first " to the Commonwealth. You desire to re-" instate union and concord by war; who are " the only disturber of it in peace. Traitor to " the party of the Great, which you ought to " defend, perfidious even to those interests you pretend to support, an enemy to all per-" fons of worth, you know in confequence " neither to respect the Gods nor men, whom you " have made equally your adversaries by your er perfidies and perjury. As this is thy per-" nicious character, go, perfift in thy enterriprize, and continue in arms, inflead of giv-" ing us perpetual disquiets, by deferring sedi-

(a) Pessume omnium atque impudentissume, tibine egeftas civium & luctus curæ funt, qui nihil eft domi, nifi armis partum, aut per injuriam? Alterum Confulatum petis, quafi primum reddideris : bello concordiam quæris, quo parta difturbatur : nostri proditor, istis infidus, hostis omnium bonorum, ut te neque hominum, neque

deorum pudet, quos perfidia aut parjurio violasti! Qui quando talis es, maneas in fententia, & retineas arma. te hortor; neu prolatandis feditionibus, inquies ipfe, nos in sollicitudine retineas. Neque te provinciæ, neque leges, neque dii Penates civem patiunturi Perge quâ cœpisti, ut quam maturrume merita invenias.

gain the

victory.

A.R. 675. " tions to another time, from which thy tur-Ant. C. 77. " bulent spirit does not permit thee to abstain.

"The provinces, the laws, the Houshold Gods

" of our Country, raise their voices against

" thee, and cannot fuffer thee in the number of " our fellow-citizens. Continue what you have

" began, in order that you may foon experi-

" ence the just punishment you deserve."

Philippus was therefore against any accomodation with Lepidus, and he concluded in the following manner: " As (a) Lepidus is ad-" vancing with an army against the city, and " has affociated himfelf with the vile enemies " of the publick, in contempt of the authority " of this Assembly, I am of opinion, that Ap. "Claudius, now Interrex, with Q. Catulus the

" Proconful, and the reft, who are in com-" mand, should defend the city, and take care " that the Commonwealth suffers no injury.

Catulus The opinion of Philippus was followed, and and Pomthe Senate passed a decree against Lepidus, pey give Lepidus

which in the form we have just mentioned, battle, and gave an almost unlimited power to those, who were appointed to oppose his enterprizes. Catulus accordingly prepared for coming to a battle. And as he excelled more in civil virtues, than in military knowledge, Pompey was affociated with him, who had contributed to raise Lepidus to the Consulship, but did not hesitate to prefer the continuance of the pub-

lick tranquillity to his particular engagements.

(a) Quare ita censer, quoniam Lepidus exercitum cum pessumis & hostibus reipublicæ, contra hujus ordinis auctoritatem, ad urbem ducit, ut Ap. Claudius Inter-

SHOIL 33

rex, cum Q Catolo Proconfule, & ceteris quibus imperiam eft, urbi præfidio fint, operamque dent ne quid Respublica detrimenti capiat.

The

The battle was fought under the walls of Rome, A.R. 675. near the bridge Mulvius. The victory was Ponte not long in suspence: and Lepidus having been Moia. defeated without much resistance, retired into Hetruria. He was immediately declared an enemy to his country, and Catulus sent in pursuit of him, whilst Pompey went into Cisalpine Gaul, which, as I have said, Brutus held for

Lepidus.

It is probable, that Rome took the advan-Election of tage of the first moment's tranquillity to pro-Consults. ceed to the election of Consults. The choice of the people fell upon Decimus Brutus, and Mamercus Æmilius. The last was very rich; Cic. de but he was afraid of expence, and to spare Offic. II. himself that of the games, which was in reality 58. enormous, he had declined the office of Ædile. The People remembered it, when he stood for the Consulship, and refused him the first time. Mamercus did not succeed even this year without considerable difficulty.

D. Junius Brutus.

Mamercus Æmilius Lepidus
Livianus.

Pompey found no difficulty in making Gal-Pompey lia Cisalpina return to its duty. He was only causes Brutus, stopped a considerable time before Modena, in the father which Brutus had shut himself up. At last of b m, the affair terminated to the satisfaction of Pom-avbo kilted pey; and Brutus surrendered himself to him, Castar, to either voluntarily, or compelled by the deserdeath tions of his troops. The victor's conduct in Piut, in respect to his prisoner, did him no honour. Pomp. For after having sent him to Reggio with a guard, the next day he dispatched Geminius to

S 3

A. R. 675. kill him. And what renders this action still the more inexcusable, was, he had at first wrote to the Senate, that Brutus had furrender+ ed himself freely and of his own accord. But after he had caused him to be killed, he changed his style, and in a second letter much calumniated his memory. This is a blot in Pompey's life: and the famous Brutus, who was Plut. in Brut. the fon of him I speak of, did not pardon Pompey his father's death, till he thought himfelf obliged to do fo by views of the publick

good.

In the mean time Catulus kept Lepidus with-Lepidus is defeared a in very narrow bounds; and having driven second time, him into a corner near * Cofa, a maritime city and goes of Hetruria, he reduced him to come to a batto Sardi-The army of Lepidus feems to have nia, where tle. be dies. been confiderable both for number and valour, Jul. Exuand that it would have been capable under perant. another leader to have found much employment for the contrary party. It fought on the present occasion with vigour, and even had fome advantage. But Pompey, who arrived from Cifalpine Gaul, determined the victory in favour of Catulus, Lepidus had no other refource, than to fave himself with the remainder of his troops in Sardinia. He succeeded no better in that island: and Valerius Triarius, who was Prætor of it, reduced him to extremities by harraffing him continually, and preventing him from seizing any place. A domestick grief compleated his distress. He was

Plut. in Pomp. Plin. VII. 36.

informed, that his wife Apuleja was false to

him. To revenge himself he was divorced from her. But as he continued to love her,

^{*} This city was fituated near Porto Hercole.

regret and grief brought an illness upon him, A. R. 675. Ant. C. 77. of which he died. Perperna drew together the wreck of the army, that was without a General; and having formed a body of them, that was still numerous, he went to Spain, where Sertorius supported the remains of Marius's

party.

Thus ended the troubles excited by Lepidus. Modera-The (a) victors contented themselves with hav- tion of the ing reestablished peace: an extraordinary exam-victorious ple of moderation in a civil war. The Senate by party. a Decree granted an amnesty to those, who had been concerned in the last troubles; and that Decree was supported by another of the People, of which Cæfar was confidered almost as the author. Besides the general interest of Marius's faction, of which he never loft fight, his brother in law L. Cinna had been engaged Suet. in in the party of Lepidus, and by this decree he Caf. 5. obtained liberty to return to Rome. The Senate had also its view in the lenity it observed on this occasion. This was to prevent the despair of those fugitives from making them augment the forces of Sertorius, already too formidable of himself. But mild policy is meritorious; and it is but too common for victors to perswade themselves, that cruelty is for their advantage.

Of all the branches of Marius's party, none Pompey is remained, except that of which Sertorius was fent to the chief in Spain, and against which Metellus gainst : er-Pius was actually making war with little fuc-torius. cefs. That General had all the military abili- Plut. in

⁽a) Victores, quod non temere alias in civilibus bellis, pace contenti fuerunt. Flor. III. 23.

Ant. C. 77.

A. R. 675 ties, that could be defired: but his * flowness evidently made him incapable of reducing fo able and active an enemy as Sertorius. However as his birth, reputation and the high efteem. of all men for his virtue, would not admit the affront to be done him of recalling him, the question only was to give him a Collegue, who with a reinforcement of troops, might also be of a character to supply what was wanting in Metellus on the fide of activity. Pompey was ambitious of this employment; and in confequence instead of dismissing his troops, as Catulus ordered him, he kept them affembled under various pretexts, at a small distance from Rome. He was indeed the only one at that time, in whom the Senate could repose confidence for fo difficult and important a command. It was accordingly refolved at last to order him to fet out for Spain with the title of Proconful. This did not pass without difficulty: and (a) fome Senators reprefented, that it was very strange for a Roman Knight to be invested with the rank and authority of a Proconful. He must not be sent, said Philippus, meerly as a Proconsul, but as supplying the place of both Confuls at once: a faying no less honourable for Pompey, than injurious to the Confuls actually in office.

^{*} Plutar b often ascribes this slowness of Metellus to bis age. But this General was then only fifty years old, as in the year 644, when he served under his father in Numidia, be was only twenty years old, as has been said in its place.

⁽a) Quum esset nonnemo in Senatu qui dicere, non debere mitti koninem privatum pro Confule, L. Philippus dixisse dicitur, non se illum sua sententia pro Con-Jule, Sed pro Consulibus mittere. Cic. pro Lege Man. n. 62.

But before we relate what Pompey did in A. R. 675. Ant. C. 77. this new command, it is necessary to resume History of our account of the adventures and exploits of the war Sertorius from the time of his departure from with Sertorius, We shall see therein a man always traced struggling with advantage against bad fortune down from implacable in persecuting him, and worthy of its origin. being ranked in the number of the greatest ornaments of Rome, though his ill fortune reduced him to become its enemy.

I have faid, that Sertorius, immediately after Sertorius Sylla had debauched the Conful Scipio's army, fets out despairing of the success of a war, carried on from Italy, by Generals, whose incapacity he well knew, Spain. had retired into Spain, which province had Plut, in fallen to him by lot after his Prætorship. It Serior. was not without difficulty, that he entered it, He found the passes of the Pyrenees occupied by Barbarians, whom only money could render tractable. Those who attended him thought it a difgrace for a Proconful of the Roman People to pay a kind of tribute or toll for paffage to wretched Mountaineers*. But Sertorius, than whom no man knew better to support his rank when it was necessary, laughed on this occafion at that ill-timed haughtiness, and faying, " that he would buy time, which of all things " is the most precious to those who have great " matters in view," he gave the Barbarians mony, paffed the mountains, and by his expedition faw himself master of Spain.

As he determined to strengthen, and to make himself himself a solid establishment there, he spared no there, and pains to conciliate the good-will of the natives particular-

the affection of the feveral of States.

ly gains

^{*} The Robbers, that infest the Pyrenean mountains, are now called Miquelets.

A. R. 675 of the country. The avidity and oppressions Ant. C. 77 of the last Prætors had inspired them with an aversion for the Roman government. Sertorius engaged the principal persons and chiefs of different countries by the affability and kindness of his behaviour, and the multitude by the reduction of taxes. But what charmed the Spaniards in a particular degree, was his exempting them from quartering foldiers, obliging the troops under his command to build themselves barracks in the neighbourhood of the cities, and taking up his own quarters first in them himself. At the same time he armed all the Romans he found in Spain of age to ferve: he caused both machines of all kinds, and gallies of three benches of oars to be built;

thus shewing himself no less terrible in the preparations of war, than mild and humane in

He had reason to use precaution and to

civil government.

Annius make great preparations of war. For as foon fent by as the party of Carbo and Marius was destroy-Syla, drives ed, as he had righly foreseen, and Sylla had Spain, and made himself master of the Commonwealth, obliges him Annius was fent from Rome to make war ato keep the gainst him. He knew, that it was of the last fea. importance to shut up the passes of the Pyrenees, and he caused them to be seized by Livius Salinator, who had fix thousand infantry under Annius in consequence was stopt at the foot of the mountains, and would have been extremely embarraffed, had not treason come in to his aid. One Calpurnius Lanarius affaffinated Salinator; the troops having loft their chief disbanded; and Annius then passing the

> defiles, forced Sertorius, who was not in a condition

dition to keep the field, to shut himself up in A. R. 675. Carthagena, with three thousand men. He stayed there only till he had embarked his followers in ships, he had caused to be built, and made off to sea. He cruized some time upon the coasts of Spain and Africa, and attempted to make descents in different places, but always with bad success. At length having added some small ships of the Cilician Pirates to his sleet, he passed the Straits, and landed a little beyond the mouth of the Bætis, now called Guadalquivir.

When he was in that place, some naviga- Sertorius tors newly arrived from the Atlantic or for-conceives tunate islands, gave him such a description of thoughts of them as charmed him. They told him that retiring to the Fortheir climate was mild; that feldom even gen-tunate tle * rains fell in them, but that the earth was islands. refreshed there by the sea breezes, which disperfed a grateful dew; that the foil was fo fertile, that it not only repaid the pains of cultivation with abundant usury, but that it produced fruits of itself without labour, which by their multitude and goodness sufficed for the nourishment of a great number of inhabitants: in a word, that it was there, according to the general opinion of the Barbarians themselves, that the Elysian fields celebrated by Homer were fituated.

The description given us by Horace of the same islands agrees perfectly with what we have

^{*} So Plutarch expresses the Canaries. See Nieuwentyt, bimself. Our modern obser- Of the Existence of God, I. II. wers affirm, that it never c. 4. rains in the slat country of

A.R. 675 just taken from Plutarch. "(a) In this for-Ant. C. 77 "tunate abode, says that Poet, the earth without culture brings forth rich harvests every " year: the vine flourishes without pruning: the olive tree never deceives the hopes its first buds have given: and the figtree is per-" petually adorned with ripe fruits, whose pur-" ple charms the eye. Honey flows here " from the hollow oak, and from the mountain tops fall rivulets of clear water in abun-"dance, that murmur as they flow in cascades. "The goats and ewes come here of them-" felves to offer their dugs diftended with " milk. Bears neither growl around the night-" ly folds, terrifying them with their cries, " nor do vipers fwell the earth with their " nefts. When we shall inhabit this charming " abode, adds he, we shall find new wonders " to admire. We shall be surprized, that no " wind brings those violent rains, that break

> - Arva, beata Petamus arva, divites & infulas, Reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis, Et imputata floret usque vinea, Germinat & nunquem fallentis termes olivæ, Suamque pulla ficus ornat arborem. Mella cava manant ex ilice; montibus altis, Levis crepante lympha defilit pede. Illic injusta veniunt ad mulctra capella, Refertque tenta grex amicus ubera: Nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile, Neque intumescit alta viperis humus. Pluraque felices mirabimur : ut neque largis Aquosus Eurus arva radat imbribus; Pinguia nec ficcis urantur semina glebis, Utrumque Rege temperante cœlitum Nulla nocent pecori contagia: nullius af ri Gregem æstuosa torret impotentia. Jupiter illa piæ secrevit littora genti.

Musi

the rich foil; and that excessive heats never A.R. 675 " burn up the grain in the ear. The King

of heaven is watchful over this favourite " land to preserve its mild and temperate

" state. The diseases, that suddenly sweep off whole flocks and herds, are unknown here:

" the cattle are fafe from the malignant influ-

" ences diffused elsewhere by burning stars. " Jupiter has separated these countries to be

" the afylum of virtue."

In this manner Horace speaks, inviting the Romans to retire to these happy regions, to avoid the horrors of civil wars. But what was only the play of fancy in the Poet, Sertorius had ferious thoughts of putting in execution. They painted these islands (which by the confent of almost all Geographers are no other than the Canaries, a country really agreeable and delicious, but much embellished by the fictions of the ancient travellers and Poets) as an inchanting abode. As he was naturally mild, an enemy to injustice and violence, and not foured by his misfortunes, but disgusted with mankind, he conceived the defign of going to these rich countries, to pass his life in happiness and innocence, far from the din of war, and the horrors of tyranny. He proposed this to his followers. Such morality did not fuit Pirates. They quitted him, and went to Mauritania, where having found two parties at war with each other, they offered their fervices to one of them.

Sertorius, who was afraid of being abandon- He goes to ed by his remaining friends and troops, did Africa. the fame, and attached himself to the other party, which he eafily rendered victorious. Being become master of the country by the taking

A.R. 675. of * Tingis, he did not deceive those, who had *Tangie: reposed confidence in him, and having restored all that belonged to them, cities, territory, riches, he accepted only a just recompence, by the means of which he was enabled to subsist the small body of troops, that were his sole refource, for fome time.

He is inwited by the Lufttanians self at their bead.

But this was only a transient aid, that did not extricate Sertorius out of difficulty; and he was in great pain about the event of histo put him- affairs, when he very opportunely received an embassy from the Lusitanians, which came to defire him to put himself at their head. That People still defended their liberty against the Romans; and finding themselves very much pressed at that time, in effect of the great reputation Sertorius had acquired in Spain, during the short time he had appeared there, they had recourse to him, as to the only General that could fave them. They were not mistaken. Sertorius was

Great qualities of Sertorius.

really a great man, incapable of fuffering himfelf either to be enervated by pleasures, or fwayed by fear; alike intrepid in dangers, and moderate in good fortune. None of the Generals of his time furpassed him for boldness in actions in the open field, nor equalled him for all that relates to stratagem, ability for assuming superiority by the advantage of posts, and expedition in paffing the defiles of mountains. In this last respect he was another Hannibal: and the Spaniards, amongst whom the glory of the Carthaginian General was not yet forgot, gave his name to Sertorius, who conceived it with reason much for his honour. He also knew perfectly how to give the proper bent of mind

Plut. in Sertor.

Civil. I. I.

to his foldiers, liberally rewarding actions of A. R. 675. bravery, and punishing faults only with regret,

and as flightly as possible.

The qualities of the body answered those of the mind in Sertorius. He had naturally abundance of strength and agility, which he took care to keep up by a simple and frugal life. He never gave into excesses of wine, even in his most vacant hours; and on the contrary, was accustomed to support the greatest fatigues, long marches, and continual warching, with the most simple nourishment, and that in fmall quantity. If he had fome moments of leifure, he used to divert himself in hunting, which was not without its use to him in war; because he thereby acquired a perfect know-

ledge of the advantage of places.

Such was the General, whom the Lusitanians Idea of had the good fortune to find in their emer- bis exgency, and under whom they did prodigies. Ploits in Sertorius set out from Africa with two thousand Spain. fix hundred men, whom he called Romans, and seven hundred Africans of different nations. The Lusitanians supplied him with four thoufand light-armed foot, and feven hundred horse. With this small body of forces Sertorius made war against four Roman Generals, who had under them an hundred and twenty thoufand foot, and fix thousand horse, two thousand bowmen and flingers, and an infinite number of cities; whilft he, at his arrival, had fcarce twenty that acknowledged him. However he beat them on every occasion, and either in his own person, or by his Quæstor Hirtuleius, who was a very brave man, gained fuch great advantages, that he augmented his power prodigioufly,

A. R. 675 digiously, and subjected the greatest part of Ant. C. 77. Spain to his command.

Metellus against bim cxperiences extreme

Metellus Pius is the most illustrious of the Pius sent captains, who were at first opposed against Sertorius. But he was flow, as we have faid: befides which having always commanded heavyarmed troops, fuch as fought in line of battle, difficulties. he did not know what conduct to observe in respect to an enemy that avoided a general action, but returned in every kind of form; who came on to attack him when he expected nothing fo little, and then retreated with expedition; and whose soldiers, accustomed to live on little, to bear hunger and cold, and to climb mountains, left the troops, who acted against them, no repose, nor any room for advantage. From thence it happened, that Metellus without fighting fuffered all that attends defeat, and Sertorius in flying had all the advantages of those who pursue their enemies. He prevented them from getting water, and harraffed them in foraging. If they advanced, they found Sertorius in their way; if they halted any where, he came on to attack them. If they belieged a city, they were belieged themselves by famine: so that they were entirely difgusted and discouraged; and Sertorius having challenged Metellus to a fingle combat, the foldiers of the latter pressed him with redoubled cries to accept the defiance, and to fight General against General, Roman against Roman; and on his refusal, they turned him into ridicule. But Metellus had no regard to their infults; knowing that a General should die as became a General, and not as an adventurer.

He was however for retrieving his reputa-A.R. 695. Ant. C. 77. Lion by belieging the city of the Lacobri-He undercenses. This had been an important conquest, takes a because Sertorius received great aid from it: suge and at the same time it seemed easy, because there was but one well in the city: the other waters used by the inhabitants, were in the suburbs, and sell immediately into the hands of the besiegers. Metellus in consequence expected this would be an affair of two days; and he made the soldiers carry with them provisions only for five days.

But Sertorius well knew how to break his which measures. He ordered two thousand skins Sertorius

(borachios) to be filled with water, promising obliges him a considerable reward to the carrier of each to raise. Ikin: the foldiers were all competitors for this office. He chose the most robust and active of those, who offered themselves. Moors and Spaniards, and fent them through the defiles of the mountains, with orders, when they should have delivered their skins to the befleged, to turn out all the useless mouths, in order that the provision of water might suffice for those, that were capable of bearing arms. When Metellus was informed that this supply had been introduced into the place, he was in great pain: for he began to be in want of provisions himself. In consequence he sent a General officer with fix thousand men, to collect and bring to the camp all the provisions he should find in the adjacent parts. Sertorius, always, upon the watch, laid an ambufcade upon the way that officer was to return with

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^{*} This City was in the country now called Old Castile, on the North of the Douro.

Junius, Æmilius, Confuls.

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A.R. 675. his troops: he attacked them himself in front, Ant, C. 77. and in that manner furrounding them in front and rear, he killed them abundance of People, took the convoy, and forced the commander to fly, after having loft his arms and horse. Metellus had no other choice to make, than to raise the siege shamefully, and to call in L. Manilius to his aid, who commanded in Gallia Narbonnensis. The latter succeeded still worse.

He was beat out of the field with the three cess of Sertorius. legions he had brought with him : and was reduced to fave himself almost alone in * Ilerda.

*Now Le-This last victory opened Gaul to Sertorius. He made it submit to his laws; and pushed Epift. Pomp. ad on quite to the Alps, in the passes of which Sen. I. III he posted guards, either to stop the troops, Hift. Salthat might be fent from Italy against him, or perhaps to carry the war thither, if fortune

continued favourable to him.

Plu. in Sertor. ing the Barbarians.

rida.

luft.

It is easy to judge what admiration such succeffes drew upon Sertorius from the Spaniards. He united with this all the ability of a refined in govern- and artful politician, to gain an afcendant over them, and to make himfelf absolutely master of their hearts. And first, knowing how much the marvellous strikes, especially with Barbarians, he endeavoured to make himself pass for an extraordinary person, and one who corresponded with the gods; an artifice which inte-rest and utility cannot justify, because sincerity condemns it. Accordingly we pretend to give it only as a proof of Sertorius's address, and not as an example to be followed.

Sertorius.

aid.

Every body has heard of Sertorius's hind. It was milk white; and as it had been given him very foon after it had been dropt; he tamed it so well, that it knew his voice, and came

to him when he called it, followed him every A. R. 675. where, and was accustomed not to be frightened by noises and tumult of a camp. He had no other view at first in caressing this animal, than to amuse himself. But when he saw it so docile, he conceived, that it might be of great utility to him. He gave out that it was a prefent from Diana, and that his Hind often revealed to him the most secret things. And to confirm this opinion, he took the following method. If he had received fecret advice of any incursion of the enemy, or of some enterprize they were forming against a city, subject to him, he pretended, that the Hind had advised him in his fleep to keep his troops in readiness to march on that side. Or if he had been informed, that some one of his Lieutenants had gained a victory, he concealed the courier, and made the Hind appear with a crown on its head, as a fign of good news: and he exhorted the Spaniards to rejoice and facrifice to the gods, affuring them, that they would foon receive advice of some great Success. By this stratagem, he made those people so much devoted to his orders, that they gave ear to him, as if the gods themselves had spoke by his mouth.

This was only a comedy, which however He difeiprocured Sertorius the most serious advantages. plines and But farther, he had the address to attach these gives laws Barbarians more to him by arming them after Spaniards. the Roman manner, by making them fensible of the advantage of an exact discipline, accustoming them to keep the order of battle, and to wait the fignal and commands of their officers: fothat retrenching from their valour its fierceness and brutality, of a great body of robbers, he formed an army. Besides which he supplied them

A. R. 675. with the means of equipping themselves magni-Ant. C. 77. ficently: he made their helmets, bucklers, and cuiraffes glitter with filver and gold : he gave them tunicks and furtouts of the righest stuffs. All this charmed these nations, who had never known any kind of life, but that almost of sa-

vages, and the groffest accourrements.

He takes education of the children of the principal families. * Huesea in Arragon.

But nothing contributed more to gaining him care of the the hearts, especially of the principal persons of the nation, than the care he took of the education of their children. For he drew together all those of the greatest birth in * Osca, a very considerable city in those days; and gave them masters to instruct them in the Arts of the Greeks and Romans. They were in reality hoftages, but he shewed no other design, than to make them capable, when they should be of age, of holding employments, and of sharing in the The fathers in confequence were government. charmed to fee on one fide their children with robes bordered with purple, going modefuly and in good order to the public schools, and on the other Sertorius, who paid their masters, frequently inspecting into their progress in person, giving rewards to fuch as had deferved, and making them wear the golden ornament (Bulla) hanging at their breafts, as was commonly done by the children of condition amongst the Romans.

Incredible of the Spaniards to bim.

He was rewarded for so wife a conduct by an attachment incredible attachment of the Spaniards for his person, which rose almost to adoration. It was a custom with those nations, as well as with the Gauls and Germans, for every Lord to have a great number of clients or vallals, who devoted their lives and deaths to his fervice, and took an oath not to furvive him, and to incur any danger in his defence. Other chiefs had a small A. R. 675. number of men, that adhered to them under the same conditions. But as to Sertorius, his adherents of this kind were computed by thou-sands. And on occasion, wherein he had been deseated, it is faid, that the Spaniards solely intent upon preserving him, took him upon their shoulders, to raise him in that manner to the top of the walls of the city, near which they were; and neglected their own security, till

they had feen him fafe.

It is extreamly remarkable in this place, that He re-Sertorius, fo tenderly beloved by the Spaniards, ferves all the rights retained however to the Romans all the supe- of Soveriority that belonged to them, and all the rights reignty to of the sovereign power. He had formed a Se- the Ronate composed of the proscribed Senators, who Appian, had retired to him, and of the principal per-Plut. fons of his other partifans to the number of three hundred. He pretended, that this was the real Roman Senate; terming that which was at Rome an assembly of Sylla's slaves. It was out of this Senate, that he chose Quæstors, Lieutenant Generals, and other Commanders; imitating as much as possible the government of the commonwealth. In consequence no Spaniard had any command in his armies; and his design was not to strengthen the Barbarians against Rome, but to make use of their forces for re-establishing the Roman Liberty. For he loved his country, and paffionately defired to return to it. He frequently took measures for His love obtaining permission to do fo. But that was for bis not, whilst he was in misfortunes. He then country. refumed his virtue in all its force, and acted with haughtiness in respect to the enemy. Afterwards, when he had gained some advantage, he offered

Ant. C. 77.

A. R. 675 offered to lay down his arms, provided he might be fuffered to live as a private person at home; declaring that he chose rather to be the most obscure citizen of Rome, than to command the Universe in banishment from his country.

His love for bis mother.

Such noble fentiments were supported in him by another no less estimable: I mean tenderness for his mother. She had become a widow very early, and had trained him up in his infancy with great care. Sertorius was full of gratitude and affection for her; and it was the defire of feeing her, that chiefly inspired him with fo ardent a paffion for returning to Rome: and when he received the news of her death, he was fo afflicted with it, that he passed seven days without appearing, or giving any orders, till on the representations of his friends, that his affairs fuffered extremely in the effect, he was perswaded to resume his usual functions. can refrain from lamenting, that so noble, so excellent a man, and one so little formed to be the enemy of his country, should have been forced by the enmity of those who persecuted him, to have recourse to civil war, as the only means for preferving his person and life.

Sertorius.

With fuch great qualities, and an heart fo troops force truly Roman, it is no wonder that Sertorius their lea- was admired and beloved by the Romans, who der to join were in Spain, as much as by the Spaniards. Those who came from Sardinia with Perperna, are a great proof of this. Perperna, who was of a Consular family, and very rich, despised Sertorius, whose birth was obscure: and at the fame time he was jealous of his glory, to which he was conscious he could not attain, and with reason apprehended, he should be eclipsed by him, if he joined him. He was therefore for forming forming a diffinct party, and actually continued A. R. 673. separate from Sertorius, till advice came, that Pompey was fent into Spain. His troops then declared to him, that if he did not lead them to Sertorius, they would join that General without him. In confequence he came by force with fifty three cohorts, which, if they were compleat, amounted to above five and twenty thousand men. But his bad disposition alone did more hurt to the common cause, than the strong reinforcement he brought with him did

Before Pompey's arrival, Plutarch relates two other circumstances, which are highly proper to shew his ability, and genius for resources.

The Barbarians, flushed by their successes, By a comiwere for coming to a battle in the open field, cal. but and could not bear the present delays of their instructive General, who was for waiting favourable occa- fight, he fions. He was at first for perfuading them by the blind mild discourse and proper representations. But impetuosity feeing, that these had no effect, and that they of the Barwere but exasperated, and demanded to fight barians. with great cries, he determined to let them receive a leffon from the enemy, that might render them more wife and docile. The thing happened as he had foreseen. The Spaniards were worsted in the engagement; and they, would have been entirely cut to pieces, if Sertorius had not contrived a retreat for them. which he conducted fo well, that he brought them back fafe into his camp.

Discouragement, as usually happens, was upon the point of fucceeding their prefumption and confidence. Sertorius, to obviate that inconvenience, and to give them a just fense of the reasons of the conduct he conceiv-

A.R. 675. ed best, thought proper to catch their eyes with a fight, that has fomething comical in it, but was well imagined to instruct Barbarians. He affembled them, and caused two horses to be placed in the midft, the one lean and old, and the other fat and full of vigour, and which had in particular a tail abounding with fine and long hairs. By the lean horse stood a frong robust man; near the other in good plight, a little puny fellow. Upon a fignal given, these two men began to go to work in the following manner. The strong one grasped the tail of his horse, and plucked it with all his force: the weak man pulled out the hairs of his horse's tail, one after another. It was evident that the first only fatigued himfelf in vain, and disposed the affembly to laugh. He was foon forced to give out; and the fecond had finished his work in a very shore time. Sertorius then broke silence: "You " fee, faid he, my dear Allies, how much er perseverance is more efficacious than force; " and in what manner those great bodies, " which it is not possible to overcome by " fingle attacks, give way to those, who have " the address to take them part by part. Per-" feverance effects every thing : time destroys "the greatest powers, and shews itself the " good and faithful ally of those, who wait " with prudence the occasion for acting; " whereas it is the mortal enemy of fuch, es as precipitate things without reason and at " wrong conjunctures."

The other circumstance, which we have to He subdues the Chara-relate of Sertorius, is no less ingenious. It is citani by an ingeni. a stratagem, which he conceived for subduing ous firata. the Characitani, a people fituated on the north gem.

of the Tagus, and, as is believed near the A. R. 675. little river Henares. That People inhabited Ant. C. 77. neither cities nor towns. They occupied an eminence of considerable extent, and very high, which had a great number of caves and hollows fronting the north. The country, which lies at the bottom of the hill, is only a kind of clayey crumbling dirt, and easily turns to dust a fo that it affords no folid footing, and upon being trampled a little, it rifes and fpreads like lime or albes. These People, considering themfelves in confequence as not to be attacked, made incursions with impunity into the neighbouring countries, and then carried back the boory into their caverns, from whence they infulted their enemies. Sertorius being now at leifure, because Metellus was removed, he resolved to reduce these robbers; and in order to that. took the following method.

He observed, that the earth of itself formed a thin dust, which the wind drove towards the Barbarians. For the north wind, which prevails much in this diffrict, blows there even during the fummer, as it was then : and the Characitani received it greedily, to refresh them and their cattle. Sertorius therefore ordered his foldiers to take as much of this crumbling earth as they could, and to raife a great mount of it exactly facing the hill. The Barbarians, who believed, that their defign was to erect a terras in order to attack them, at first laughed at the work. But the next morning their tone was much changed, when they faw, that the little wind which rose with the fun, drove with it a great quantity of dust. It was still much worse, when the wind becoming more violent, formed very thick clouds of duft, which the troops

troops of Sertorius took care to increase, both by stirring the earth, and passing to and fro on horseback upon the heap they had thrown up. The caves of the Barbarians were soon so full of this dust, that they were blinded and choaked with it, respiring only an air extremely abounding with earthly particles. For their caves had no other openings, than those that aspected the north. They however stood their ground two days, but on the third were obliged to surrender, and thereby did not so much augment the forces as the glory of Sertorius, whose address triumphed, where arms could not possibly have prevailed.

That General was in consequence at the

highest point of glory, and in his greatest

prosperity, when Pompey was fent against

him. The latter had at first the passes of the

Alps to clear, which were shut up by the troops of Sertorius, and he even made himself a different and more commodious rout across

Pompey arrives in Spain. Epist. Pomp.

those mountains than that of Hannibal. He continued his march through Gallia Narbonnensis, and retook all the posts in it, occupied by the enemy. At length having passed the Pyrenees, he filled all Spain with great expectations. As his name was very famous for

vour: it was believed, that a revolution was upon the point of taking place; and the fidelity of those, that adhered to Sertorius, began to waver. But Pompey was no sooner come to blows with that artful Captain, than the success not answering the public opinion, Sertorius re-established himself, and acquired new

many victories, to which his youth gave still more lustre, people were prejudiced in his fa-

reputation, both in Spain and at Rome itself.

Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor.

The event I am speaking of passed near the A.R. 675city of * Laurona, which Sertorius was then Ant. C. 77. besieging. Pompey approached it with design ceives a to succour the place, and to raise the siege. check be-Having observed a hill, which might give fore the the besiegers a great advantage, he designed to Laurona. feize it: but Sertorius prevented him, and occupied the post. Pompey remained behind, and was not forry for the adventure, imagining, that he had shut up the enemy between the city and his army. He even boafted it, and bade the Lauronites indulge the fatisfaction of feeing from their walls the beliegers belieged. Sertorius having been apprized of this, only laughed, and faid, that he would teach Sylla's scholar, so he called Pompey, that a General ought to look more behind than before him. And accordingly he had left in the camp, from whence he fet out to feize the eminence, fix thousand good troops, that kept Pompey in awe, and would not admit him to attack Sertorius, without exposing himself to the danger of having the enemy at the fame time in his front and rear. The young General perceived too late, that he had been too hafty in his boaft, and found himfelf highly embarraffed, not daring to give the enemy battle, and being ashamed to abandon those he came to aid.

The bad fuccess of a forage he had under-Fronting taken, compleatly disconcerted him. For his foragers having fallen into an ambuscade, that Sertorius had judiciously laid for them, the loss was very great, because a legion, that came to the aid of those foragers, was itself surrounded,

es rei es is to

^{*} This city is believed not to have been far from Valencia.

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A. R. 675 and perished almost entirely with its com-

Plut.

The befieged feeing in consequence, that they had nothing to hope, furrendered at discretion: and Sertorius sparing the lives of the inhabitants, however caused their city to be burnt, not out of cruelty (no General was ever more remote from that) but to cover both Pompey, and those who so much admired him, with shame; and that it might be said throughout Spain, that a city he had pretended to succour, had been burnt before his eyes, and so near him, that he might almost have warmed himself by the fire that consumed the walls.

Act of justice of Sertorius.

Appian.

At the taking of Laurona, Sertorius did an action of justice, that ought to do him honour. For having been informed, that a foldier had abused a woman, who was his prisoner, in a brutal manner, who to revenge herself had even tore out his eyes, he not only ordered the criminal to be executed; but knowing, that the whole company practifed the like excesses, he caused them all to be put to death, though they were Romans.

Winter quarters.

Thus ended this campaign. Both armies went into winter-quarters. Pompey and Metellus passed theirs in the Pyrenees under tents, in the midst of a great number of enemies, that harrassed them. Sertorius, accompanied by Perperna, retired into Lustania.

CN. OCTAVIUS.

A. R. 676. Ant. C. 76.

C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.

The armies take the field again.

With the spring the operations of the war were renewed: and it appears, as far as is to

be judged from the monuments of the history A. R. 676. of those times come down to us, that the two Ant. C. 76. armies did not unite all their forces, but divided them, fo that Hirtulejus, that brave Questor of Sertorius, of whom I have spoke above, remained in + Boetica to oppose Me- + Andalutellus, and Sertorius marched towards the coun- fia. try now called the kingdom of Valencia.

Hirtulejus was a man of great courage, but Metellus was not equal to his General in ability. Me- gains a tellus took his advantages with judgment, and great vicgained a battle over him, for which he was Hirtulejus. indebted entirely to the wisdom of his con- Oros. V. duct. For the armies having met near the city 23. called * Italica, and Hirtulejus having made his II. 1 & 3. foldiers quit their intrenchments at fun-rife to offer the enemy battle, Metellus let him fustain the heat of the day, which was excessive, till noon. He then came out of his camp with his troops, who having refreshed themselves with eating, and being well reposed, had from thence alone a great fuperiority over foldiers, whom hunger, wearinefs, and heat had extremely fatigued. Besides which, knowing that the enemy's best troops were in the centre, he made his wings advance confiderably, whilft his main body continued behind: by this means the two wings of Hirtulejus's army, being eafily defeated, he attacked the centre on three fides at once. There the battle was very hot, and the Generals spared themselves so little that Metellus received a darr in his armour. and Hirtulejus one in the arm. But at last the latter was obliged to fly, leaving twenty thoufand of his men on the spot. And some time

^{*} Sevilla veja upon the Guadalquiver, not far from Seville. after,

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OCTAVIUS, SCRIBONIUS, Confuls.

Ant. C. 76.

A. R. 676. after, undoubtedly with defign to retrieve his honour on another occasion, he was killed with his brother. arious wid not unite all their

Frontin. 11. 7.

This was a great loss for Sertorius: and, it is faid, that he killed the Barbarian, who brought him the news of it with his own hand; be-·ulsboA h cause being upon the point of giving battle, he was afraid that the report might be spread at that critical time, and discourage his foldiers. Besides which he was admirable at finding refources in his misfortunes : and always maintaining himself invincible, when he commanded in person, he knew how to remedy the effects of the defeats of his Lieutenants with fo much ability, that he frequently aquired more glory from them than the victors themselves.

Battle of Sucrona Letween Sertorius and Pompey.

after

He well demonstrated near * Sucrona, that the defeat of Hirtulejus had not abated his courage. Pompey having defeated Herennius and Perperna near Valentia, marched in quest of Sertorius. Both of them were defirous of coming to a battle, before Metellus, who was marching from Bœtica, should arrive; the one to have fewer enemies upon his hands, and the other not to share the glory of the success he hoped with a Collegue. The action began but in the evening: For Sertorius was for waiting till towards the end of the day, because, as the enemy were not well acquainted with the country, the night could not but be equally to their disadvantage, whether they should be reduced to fly, or it should be necessary to and Hirtulejus one in the arm. But at lsulruq

In this battle Sertorius, who had posted himfelf on his right wing, was not at first opposed

A city ruined many ages ago, which was at the mouth of the Xucar.

to Pompey, but to Afranius; and he had al- A. R. 676. ready the advantage, when he received advice, Ant. C. 76. that his left made but a bad defence against the efforts of Pompey. He flew thither, and having found a part, of his troops flying, and the other making but a weak relistance, he reanimated them all, and foon gave a new face to things. Flight and terror had now changed fides; and Pompey's person itself was in the greatest danger. For though on horseback he was attacked by one on foot, but of a great stature, and the blows they gave each other were so rude, that Pompey cut off his enemy's arm, and was wounded himself. The first danger did not disengage him, and a troop of Libyans having fallen upon him, he was upon the point of being either killed or taken. But he quitted his horse to them, which was richly caparifoned; and whilft the Barbarians were contending for the spoils of the horse, Pompey escaped. w boilt aid gonesact in gentle and

Victory feemed here to be attached to the person of Sertorius. As soon as he had been obliged to abandon his right, it gave way; and Afranius having entirely defeated it, pushed on to the enemies camp, which his foldiers began to plunder. At that inftant Sertorius arrived victorious, and killed a great number of the plunderers, who retired in disorder.

Thus ended the battle of Sucrona with almost equal advantage on both sides, as one wing of each army was victorious, and one defeated. But Serrorius evidently had all the honour of the day, as he had defeated the enemy, wherever he acted in person, a no saw

He prepared for a new engagement the next Saying of day; but was apprifed, that Metellus had join- Sertorius

ed and Pom-

pey.

Ant. C. 76.

A. R. 676. ed Pompey. That junction made him change his opinion. He was afraid, that he mould not be able to oppose the two armies united, and retired faying, with that air of superiority and infult he always recained in respect to Pompey : If that old man bad not happened to come, I would have fent that boy back to Rome well corrected as be deferves. He diffinissed his troops, not without taking the precaution to affiga them a rendezvous for their reaffembling. For that was his method; and the Barbarians were fo well accustomed to it, that formetimes Sertorius was in the mountains almost alone; and soon after his army reuniting on a sudden in one body, like a torrent formed by the melting of the fnows, he faw himfelf at the head of an hundred and fifty thousand or a to them, which was need

Sertorius's bind loft again.

But he was at this time under great concern. In the tumult of the last battle, and the plunand found dering of the camp, his Hind was loft. This was wanting an aid of great import to him in governing the Barbarians. Happily fome of his people mer her in a wood, and knowing her by her colour, they brought her back to their General. He promised them a great reward, if they kept the thing fecret; and having caused her to be hid for fome days, one morning he put on a gay air, and told the chiefs of the Spaniards who were with him, that he had had a dream in the night, that foretold bim from the gods fome happy event. He after wards, according to cultom, gave audience to those, who had bufiness with him. The Hind was on a fudden let go, and feeing Sertorius, the came skipping to him, and laying her head upon her knees, licked his right hand, which

he held out to her. Sertorius caresting her on A. R. 676. his side, and even shedding some tears, the Ant. C. 76. Barbarians were at first much surprised; then with a thousand cries of joy and applause, they attended him home, as a divine person beloved

by the gods.

In the mean time Metellus and Pompey hav- Good uning joined, resolved to march in quest of the derstand-Those two Generals and in all their forces. ing be-Those two Generals acted in perfect concert, tellus and which merits the imitation of all in the same Pompey. case. When Metellus arrived, Pompey was for lowering his fasces before him, to fignify, that he considered him as his superior, and not as his equal. Metellus opposed it; and affuming nothing either from his years or the honours, through which he had passed, he always treated Pompey as his Collegue, except when they incamped together, and then Metellus only gave the word. Pompey on his side paid a voluntary compliance to his opinions. And when they came in view of Sertorius, whom they were for forcing to a battle, and who carefully avoided it, one day Metellus remarking incredible ardour in the Spaniards, who according to the custom of Barbarians, more vehement than civilized Nations, because more prompted by the impressions of simple nature, shewed their eagerness for coming to blows by shaking their lances, raising their arms, and other the like geftures; Metellus made Pompey observe them, and represented to him, that this was not a proper time for attacking the enemy. Pompey aor greed in opinion; and with their common confent they retired into their camp.

A. R. 6 6. Ant. C. 76. General battle betorius on one side, and Pompey and Metellus on the other.

Sertorius

dismisses

who reassemble

foon after.

Sertorius was at length reduced to come to a general action, which he had long avoided. He had contented himself with sending out tween Ser- parties, that cut off provisions, took convoys, and reduced the two Generals to extreme difficulties. They therefore resolved to extend themselves with all their troops in a country, where they might commodiously have provisions and forage: and Sertorius, who was for preventing them, had no other means, but coming to a battle. The armies met near * Segontia, and fought with great fury. The action continued from noon till after fun fet. Sertorius had again the advantage over Pompey, who in this engagement lost Memmius, his Questor, and the bravest officer in his army. But Perperna, who commanded the left wing, not being able to refift Metellus, and being almost entirely defeated, Sertorius was obliged to quit Pompey, in order to affift his forces. On his arrival he made a great flaughter of the enemy, and penetrated quite to Metellus, who on this occasion fought with all the vigour, that could have been expected from a young man. He was even wounded: but that very circumstance gave him the victory. For his foldiers feeing their General bleeding whom they honoured and loved, were fo animated by their grief and rage, that it was impossible for the Spaniards to sustain their efforts; and Sertorius failed of the victory, when he believed it almost inevitable.

In consequence he had recourse to his usual practice, and having ordered his Barbarians to bis troops, disband, he shut himself up with a small num-

[·] Siguenca, near the source of the Henares.

ber of brave troops in a strong city capable of A.R. 676. making a long defence, to amuse the enemy Ant. C. 76. round him, and in the mean time to give the Spaniards time to fly at their ease, and afterwards to reassemble. The thing was executed according to his plan; and when he was advised, that a sufficient body of an army was formed for taking the field, he fallied; and having easily opened himself a way through the enemy, he put himself at the head of the troops, who expected him; leaving Metellus to make vain trophies of the victory he arrogated to himfelf.

For that General, who affected to despise Immode-Sertorius, and treated him in his discourse as the rate joy of fugitive of Sylla, and as one escaped Carbo's ship-Metellus on wreck, was however so proud of having de-tended vicfeated him, that he caused himself to be pro-tory over. claimed Imperator by his foldiers, and on that Sertorius. account suffered divine honours to be paid him luxury of by the cities, through which he passed, and the feasts which received him with erecting altars and given him. offering him facrifices. Superb entries were made for him every where, with an aftonishing concourse of people of all ages and sexes, who filled the streets even to the tops of the houses. And when it was perceived, that he was pleased with this pomp, and that it was making court to him with fuccess, they vied with each other in giving him magnificent feafts. They adorned the halls where he was to be received like the temples of the gods, and perfumed waters were diffused, and incence burnt in them : on the other side, theatres were erected for representing Comedies, which, as every body knows, made a part in the celebration of feasts with the superstitious Ancients. Choirs of young

A.R. 676. young men and maids fung hymns to his praise. And he had not the delicacy of Augustus, who according to (a) Horace could not bear praises. if they were not feafoned with a fine and ingenious turn of thought. The (b) Poets of Corduba, whose verses savoured of the soil, and had no spirit, however engaged the attention of Statues of Victory were also made Metellus. to descend by machines, which in the midst of artificial thunder and lightning fet crowns upon his head. To all these honours were added folemn entertainments, in which he appeared dreft in an embroidered robe, and with all the pomp of a Triumpher. Care was taken, that in these feasts profusion should be displayed in conjunction with elegance; and not only all Spain was made to fupply whatever was most exquisite for covering the table; but persons were fent beyond fea and into Mauritania for

Sallust, from whom we have most of this account, observes that (c) Metellus hurt himself much by authorizing these excesses, and that he lost by them great part of his reputation, especially with those, who retained the ancient probity and taste, and who conceived, that this luxury and extravagant honours had something in them of superb, odious and unworthy of the gravity of the Roman Empire. Pompey well

(a) Cui malè si palpere, recalcitrat undique tutus.

Hor. Sat. II. 1.

(b) Etiam Cordubæ natis Poetis, pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum, tamen aures suas dedebat. Cicer. pro Arch. n. 26.

game till then unknown.

(c) Quibus rebus aliquan-

tam partem gloriæ demferat, maxumè apud veteres fanctos viros, superba illa, gravia, indigna Romano imperio æstumantes. Sallust. apud Matrob, Satur. II. o. fustained the glory of the Commonwealth by A. R. 676. the dignity of his manners. Naturally fober, and averse to voluptuousness, he had still increafed the feverity of his manner of living in fo difficult a war; and the contrast of so young a man's prudence was a stronger condemnation of the tafte, which Metellus at an advanced

age expressed for pleasures and pomp.

Perhaps this drunkenness of joy is more ex- Metellus cufable in Metellus, than his inhumanity in Sets a price fetting a price upon the head of Sertorius, by upon the promising an hundred talents and twenty thou- Scriorius. fand acres of land to any Roman, who should kill him, and liberty to return to Rome, if he were an exile : base (a) proceeding, that argued the despair of conquering one by force, whose blood he was for purchasing at the price of money. It is to be believed, that this proclamation did Sertorius great hurt; that it tempted the fidelity of many, who had hitherto adhered to him; and that it occasioned the change, which history observes in his manners, and the cruelties with which it reproached him. We shall speak of them more at large in the sequel.

L. OCTAVIUS.

tindeni4

C. AURELIUS COTTA.

A. R. 677. Ant. C. 75.

Sertorius was however not the less successful Metellus We do not find, that he fought and Pomany more general battles. Probably he avoid- pey hared them with more caution then ever, perceiv-raffed by ing how much more advantageous furprizes and retire into

(a) As ฉพางาพ์ธะเ ราร คุณของฉัง ฉันบ์ขาง พาธ์นองกร รอง ฉังอือล อิเล mote quarweodooias.

U 3 **stratagem** A.R. 677. stratagem were to him. We have no particu-Ant C. 75. lar account of the operations of this campaign, except in respect to the succour of the city of * Pallantia, which Pompey had reduced to extremities. He had already undermined the walls, which were fuftained only upon props, when Sertorius arrived. Pompey did not judge it proper to wait his coming up; but having caused the props to be set on fire, he retired with fafety to Metellus. Sertorius gave orders for rebuilding the walls of Pallantia; and from thence falling fuddenly on a body of the enemy, encamped near + Calagaris, he killed them three thousand men. But his greatest exploit Plut. was undoubtedly his having fatigued both armies of the enemy by marches and countermarches; having kept them perpetually in perplexity by frequent ambuscades, cut off their provisions by land, prevented them by his cruizers from having any brought to them by fea, and by all these measures reduced both the one and the other to abandon all the part of Spain subject to him: so that Metellus retired

Liv. Epift. into a Province of Hispania Ulterior, which is XCIII. not named, and Pompey into Gallia Narbonenfis.

Mitbrida-Serterius to afk bis ali ance.

This same year Mithridates gave Sertorius tes fends an an occasion of distinguishing his magnanimity. Embassy to That Prince, who meditated renewing the war with the Romans for the third time, fought supports and allies on all fides for sustaining the weight of such an undertaking. He had then two fugitive Romans at his court, L. Fannius and L. Magius, old companions and friends of

^{*} Palencia in the Kingdom of Leon. + Calaborta in Old Castile, on the right side of the Ebro.

Fimbria. Their hatred for Sylla ferved them A.R. 677. as a recommendation to Mithridates, and they Appian. supported themselves in his favour by flattery, in Mithrid. As they had formerly adhered to the party, of Put. in which Sertorius protected the remains, and the Sertor. glory of that General had reached the extremities of the East, they inspired Mithridates with thoughts of making an alliance with him. The King of Pontus was flruck with that idea, and the flatterers did not fail to exaggerate the advantages of it to him. They compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal; and they advanced with confidence, that Rome, attacked in the East and West, would never be in a condition to make head on both fides, nor to relift the greatest of Kings supported by the greatest of Generals. Mithridates in consequence fent embassadors to Sertorius with orders to offer him money and ships, and to demand for the King the Cession of Asia, which he had been obliged to abandon by the Treaty with Sylla.

Sertorius gave those Ambassadors audience Haughty at the head of his Senate; and when they were answer of withdrawn, he brought the affair into delibera- Sertorius. tion. Every one was for accepting the King's offers, that feemed extremely advantageous to them, as he asked only a shadow, an empty title, in a word nothing, which they could confider as dependant on them; and in exchange granted them the aids of which they stood most in need. And indeed Spain supplied Sertorius with as many men as he could defire. But it is easy to conceive, that he must have wanted money; and his naval force was too weak, tho' he had retained to the last an important post upon the sea. This was Dianium, a colony of Maffylians,

A. R. 677. Massylians, now called Denia, in the Kingdom Ant. C. 75. of Valentia.

Sertorius who knew this double necessity, as well as his Council, however did not think like them in respect to the proposals of Mithridates. He faid, that he did not pretend to oppose his seizing Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries always governed by Kings, and to which the Romans had no ancient pretentions: But that as to Asia Minor, of which they were legitimately possessed, when that Prince had endeavoured to take it from them, from which he had been driven out by Fimbria, and which he had renounced by a folemn Treaty, he would never confent, that it should fall again under the power of Mithridates. "(a) For, added " he, I ought to make my power subservient to the greatness of the Commonwealth, and " not to aggrandize myfelf by its loffes and reduction. A man of courage undoubtedly " defires to conquer with glory; but he ought " to think, that life itself were too dearly pur-" chased at the price of bad and infamous mea-" fures."

Such was the answer carried back to Mithri-Surprize of dates by his Ambaffadors, which furprized him Mitbridates. The strangely. What orders then, cried he our, alliance is would Sertorius send me, did be preside in the concluded. Senate at Rome; as banished, proscribed, and driven out of the coasts of the Atalantic Sea, be sets bounds to my Kingdom, and threatens me with war, if I make any attempts upon Afia.

- Wietly Bans,

⁽a) Δεῖν γὰς αὐξεσθαι τὴν τόν γενναίω γὰς ἀνδρὶ μετά το κατιώσει των εκείνης κρατείν αυτ δε εδε σώζεσθαί. The wolve un are rearretos, en re nale unas alertos, aloxeus

The treaty was concluded upon the condi- A.R. 677. tions prescribed by Sertorius. It imported, Ant. C. 75. that Mithridates should have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that Sertorius should fend him a General and some troops, and that he should receive from the King three thousand talents and forty ships. Sertorius actually made one of his Senators, called M. Marius, fet out for Asia; and, which is fingular, and extremely argues the preheminence of the Roman Name, that Proconful of Sertorius's creating, had all the honours of that office in the army of Mithridates. If any city of Asia had been taken, he entered it in pomp, preceded by his rods and axes, and followed by the King of Pontus, who condescended to take the second place. He granted liberty to some of those cities; to others immunities and exemptions, all in the name of Sertorius, without permitting Mithridates to perform any act of Sovereignty in a Roman Province.

This is the last remarkable circumstance in the life of Sertorius. Though he lived about two years longer, always fuftaining war against powerful enemies, his history supplies nothing, that answers the glory of his former years. Pompey being reduced by him to take up his Men reing winter-quarters in Gallia Narbonensis, wrote Letter of from thence a letter to the Senate in very high Pompey to and menacing terms; complaining, that they who fend fuffered him to want every thing, and that du- him more: ring the three years he had made war in Spain, he had scarce received the money that was necessary for the expence of one. Hereproached them bitterly with services so ill rewarded,

Ant. C. 75.

A. R. 677. and concluded with this declaration. (a) I bave not only exhausted my estate, but my credit. I bave no resourse left but in you. If you fail me, take notice I tell you in spite of me, my army, and upon our beels, that of Sertorius, will enter Italy.

A. R. 6:8. Plut. in Pomp. & Locuil.

When this letter arrived at Rome, Lucullus was Conful; and as he ardently defired to be charged with the war against Mithridates, he was afraid that Pompey fought a pretext for quitting that of Spain, in order to come to Rome to dispute with him the other far more glorious, and at the same time more easy, employment. The Conful therefore spared no pains for giving a rival fatisfaction, whom he was for keeping at a distance; and caused all the money he demanded to be fent him. This fupply put Pompey into a condition to return into Spain, and to carry on the war with advantage. But no particulars of it are come down to us.

Perperna cabals againf Sertorius. Defertions and Trea-Jons punifbed with rigour. Appian. Civ. 1. I. Pipt in Sertor.

In the mean time Sertorius grew weak both by treasons, and the rigour he used for preventing and punishing them. The spirit of sedition had crept in amongst the principal Romans that adhered to him, as foon as the affairs of the party began to prosper. Whilst the danger was urgent, fear had kept them submissive to the only one, who could deliver them from it: but when that fear was over-blown, jealoufy took place. Perperna in particular, who was the most illustrious amongst them, and who in

(a) Ego non rem familiarem modò, fed etiam fidem consumpfi. Reliqui vos eftis: qui nisi subvenitis, invito & prædicente me, exercitus hinc, & cum eo omne bellum Hispaniæ, in Italiam transgredietur. Salluft. Hift. /. III.

virtue of his nobility pretended to the command, inflamed divisions by his factious discourse: What evil genius, said he, has made us quit one unhappy state to precipitate ourselves into a worse? We were unwilling, whilst in our own country, to obey Sylla, whom the whole universe obeyed, and we came hither to live in liberty. And now we voluntarily make ourselves slaves, and consent to be the followers of an obscure exile, without rank or name. He calls us the Senate, a vain title, that exposes us to ridicule; and in reality we are not treated with less haughtiness,

nor less imperiously, than the Barbarians.

Discourse of this kind had its effect; and Sertorius, who perceived that the affection of the Romans was alienated from him, reposed his whole confidence in the Spaniards, and formed his guard of them: new matter of complaint to the Romans, and which difgusted many even of those, who had continued faithful hitherto. They could not fuffer, that Barbarians should be preferred to them, and the distrust of Sertorius seemed the greater injury to them, as it was undeferved, and they had placed their entire confidence in him. Their refentment was still more increased by the pride of the Spaniards, who feeing themselves preferred, treated them with contempt, and openly taxed them with infidelity. In confequence the army of Sertorius was full of murmurs, division and disgust, either against the General, or of nation to nation; and he would have feen himfelf abandoned, but for the necessity they all knew they had of him. Many however deferted; and conspiracies were formed against the life of Sertorius, which drew rigours from him, perhaps necessary, but always infinitely odious in respect

respect to ancient friends, who having been profcribed with him, had always shared in his

good or bad fortune.

Cruelty of Sertorius in respect to the children be to be educated at Ofca.

His fecret enemies, whose number these punishments augmented, by their practices carried the evil, which was already very great, to the They ruined affairs defignedly, last excess. bad caused and in particular laboured to excite the hatred of the Spaniards against Sertorius, by using them harshly, and loading them with taxes, as if by his order. From thence arose revolts and commotions amongst those nations; and those who were fent to remedy diforders, did not return till they had widened the breach, and multiplied the rebels. It is needless to observe, that by the help of these diffentions the enemy made considerable progress. In consequence Sertorius, exasperated by bad success, and reduced to extremities by revolts, forgot his former lenity to fuch a degree, as to let the weight of his wrath fall upon the children of the Spaniards, that he caused to be educated at Osca, part of whom he killed, and fold the reft.

Plutarch's reflexion ston that bead.

Plutarch has observed, that in consequence of the cruelties Sertorius gave into in the latter times, some believed that his mildness and lenity had never been real, and that the moderate conduct, he had at first observed, was only disguise and art, the dictate of reflection and the necessity of affairs. As to himself he thought of erwise. (a)" I believe, said he, that

δαίμονι συμμεταδαλειν το ηθος, S z Estrugior olpus wadelt, ήδη της τύχης αυτόν επιλειπέσης, έκτραχυνόμενον υπό των wealμάτων, γινόμενον worngar क्ट्ठे परं बरीस्थापवड़.

⁽a) Euri de apernir mer eili-אפנויות אל עבדם אליץטי סטור שסמי צא ά, πότε δοκή τύχη τις έκτησας meds reversion, appear of meanfivers of purers Kensas, und συμφορών μεγάλων πας αξίαν במצשלפוסטי, או מסטיפודטי דש

pure virtue, founded upon solid principles, will support itself against fortune, and never "depart from its nature. But it is not im-" possible, but mild dispositions, if put to un-" happy trials, and perfecuted with difgraces "they have not deferved, may change character, "when fortune changes in respect to them. And this is what I think happened to Sertorius. In the decline of his affairs, irri-" tated by his misfortunes, he became wicked " with men who were themselves wicked and " unjust."

Thus speaks that wife Historian, who by a very equitable judgment, without diminishing the blame in the least, which the last actions of Sertorius deserved, sustains the whole glory of his past conduct. And indeed it is knowing mankind very ill, to imagine them incapable of departing from themselves; and if there be any thing to object to in Plutarch's reflection, it is perhaps his afcribing too much to human virtue, when he makes it superior to the attacks of fortune.

If we may believe Appian, Sertorius also gave into other excesses, and women and wine were exceptions to his virtue. But Plutarch expressly fays the contrary; as we shall see immediately, and his authority feems to me undoubtedly preferable.

Perperna, whom the Dæmon of ambition, Conspirace and that of envy animated against Sertorius, at of Perlength succeeded in forming a conspiracy, by perna awhich he gained his point. All the conspira- life of Ser. tors were Romans. History mentions several of porius. them, of which the principal were, Aufidius, Gracinus, Antonius, aFabius and aManlius. The indiferetion of the laft, who rashly opened himself

felf to a young man, had like to have frustrated the design. But Perperna, who was apprized of it, hastened the execution of his project. That he might have an occasion to invite Sertorius to sup at his house, he planted a courier, who brought him news of a victory gained by one of his Lieutenants. Sertorius full of joy offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving to the gods; at the end of which Perperna desired him to come and conclude the feast with himself and some of his friends there present, (who were all in the conspiracy) and he pressed him so earnestly, that it was not in his power to withstand his instances.

Death of Sertorius.

The entertainments, at which Sertorius was present, always passed with gravity and decency. He would admit nothing in them to the offence of modefty, and accustomed his guests to be chearful with reason, and without departing from the bounds of a just referve. But in this last entertainment, when the company were flushed with wine, the conspirators seeking an occasion to quarrel, began to hold the most diffolute discourses; and feigning to be drunk, proceeded to every kind of licentiousness, with defign to make Sertorius angry. As for him, whether in effect of his natural disposition averse to debauch, or that he suspected something of their intention from their want of refpect of his person, he contented himself with changing his posture upon his bed, and with lying upon his back, as having no share in what passed. Perperna then took a cup full of wine, which he let fall in drinking. This was the fignal agreed upon. Antonius immediately, who was upon the fame bed with Sertorius, gave him a wound with a fword. Sertorius would would have raised himself up; but Antonius fell upon him, and seized his hands; when all the other conspirators running thither stabbed him in many places, without its being in his

power to make any refistance.

Thus perithed Sertorius, one of the greatest Captains of the ancient world, and who having had upon his hands two of the most illustrious Generals Rome had at that time, Metellus Pius and Pompey the Great, had supported himself a great while with equality, and even frequently with advantage; and if he was reduced to give way at last, it was only in effect of being abandoned and betrayed by his own people. He was in the eighth year of his Command. If then he was killed in the Confulship of Varro A. R. 979 Lucullus and C. Cassius, as it is probable, he must have been called in by the Lusitanians in the fecond confulship of Sylla. The war was not entirely terminated by his death; but during two years, which it subfifted afterwards, it was only one continued feries of difgraces to the party he had defended; so strange a difference does the person of a single man sometimes make in great affairs.

Perperna, as soon as he had compleated his Perperna crime, was for reaping the fruit of it by taking becomes possession of the command. But he found it party. not a little difficult to get himself acknowledg. Appian. ed. The cruel assassination of Sertorius had Plut. put an end to all hatred conceived against him, and made compassion succeed it. The causes of complaint, which people believed they had against him, were thought of no more; and only his virtues were remembred. The Spaniards in particular, who had so many obligations to that great man, and by whom he had

made

made himself passionately beloved, regretted him extremely, and looked upon his murtherer only with horror. Many states revolted that instant, and ran to submit either to Pompey or Metellus. In the mean time Perperna managed fo well between promises, money, menaces, and even punishments aptly employed against the most obstinate, that he prevented the army from disbanding: and as he was incontestably the most distinguished of the remaining Romans, and had always enjoyed the honour of the fecond rank during the life of Sertorius, no body disputed the first with him, and he had the fatisfaction at last of seeing himself the chief of the party.

He is defeated by Pompey,

But if he retained the greatest part of Sertorius's forces, he was far from having the fame talent for governing them, and he foon shewed, that he was not more capable of commanding than of obeying. It was only fport to Pompey to reduce him. He laid a snare for him, in which Perperna having stupidly given, was entirely defeated, his army dispersed, his principal officers killed on the spot, and himself taken prisoner.

who causes bim to be killed without rius's papers.

DEGI

Cruelty is a vice, that is usually joined with cowardice. Perperna, in the desperate state to which he was reduced, instead of fuffering an feeing him, inevitable death with bravery, made a vain atand burns tempt to fave, or at least to prolong, his life. all Serto- He caused Pompey to be told, that being become master of Sertorius's papers, he had found among them proof of fecret intelligences held with him by some of the principal Senators of Rome, and even persons of Consular dignity. He affured him, that he had the original letters in his hands, by which they invited Sertorius

torius to come to Italy. Pompey on this occafion acted, not as a young man, but as one of profound sense and mature judgment. For judging, that those letters might contain the feeds of new troubles and discord, which might prevent the Commonwealth from enjoying the tranquillity, of which it stood so much in need, he caused them all to be brought to him with the rest of Sertorius's papers, and burnt them, without reading them himself, or suffering any other person to do so. And for fear that Perperna should divulge what he knew, and mention names, he caused him to be killed suddenly, without confenting to fee him. Pompey was therefore the Avenger of Sertorius; and punishment soon succeeded his crime. For Perperna could not have enjoyed the command above a year. The other murtherers of Sertorius had no better a fate. Several of them were taken by Pompey's foldiers, and killed by his order. Some fled to Libya, where the Moors shot them to death with arrows. But one escaped: but it was only to drag a miserable life in some wretched village of Spain, hated by all that knew him, and reduced to beggary.

After Perperna's defeat and death, the rest Peace of of the party had no resource, but in the vic-Spain retor's clemency. The towns of Spain submitted instantation with eagerness: only two ventured to resist, *Uxama upon the Douro, and Calaguris up-Osma. on the Iberus. Pompey took and demolished the first. Calaguris, besieged by Afranius, Val. Max. suffered the greatest horrors of famine; and VII. 6. the inhabitants proceeded to the abominable excess of killing and eating their wives and children, and of falting their sless to make it

keep the longer. At length their obstinacy was overcome, and the city was taken and A. R. 671, burnt in the Confulship of Aufidius Orestes and Lentulus Sura. Thus ended the war of Sertorius, after having sublisted ten years; and with it expired the last remains of Marius's Sylla's party continued fole masters of the Commonwealth, without any adverfary's disputing the possession of it with them. However the conquered faction, though in appearance extirpated for ever, was foon after revived by Cæsar, whose first steps where authorised by the favour, which the name of Marius had kept up amongst the people, and who at length fucceeded not only in subverting the whole plan of the government established by Sylla, but in annihilating even the liberty of Rome. The war of Sertorius is, as we fee, mixed,

Trophies and Triumphs of the victory. Flor. III.

26.

Meen.

half civil, half foreign. But the victors, in order to have a pretext for triumphing, denominated it a war with the States of Spain, dropping the name of Sertorius, who had however constituted its whole force, and from whom Plin. VII. themselves derived their principal glory. Pompey erected an illustrious monument of his exploits in the Pyrenees. These were trophies with an infcription importing, that from the Alps to the extremities of Hispania Ulterior he had subjected eight hundred and seventy-fix cities. He undoubtedly reckoned villages and castles in the number. It is faid, that to this day the remains of those trophies are to be seen in the vallies of Andorra and Altavaca. Many also consider the city of Pampeluna as one of Pompey's monuments, and affirm him to be the founder of it. But that admits difficulties.

Metellus

Metellus and he triumphed on their return to Rome. But there was a circumstance in it entirely singular with respect to Pompey; which is, that he triumphed for the second time whilst only a Roman Knight.

SECT. II.

Multitude and complication of facts. Order, in which they will be distributed. Origin of the war with Spartacus. Character of that Captain, and his first condition. His first successes. Augmentation of bis forces. Arms grofly made. Eccesses in which the slaves give, notwithstanding Spartacus. P. Varinius Prætor, defeated by Spartacus. Moderation and prudence of Spartacus in prosperity. The two Consuls and a Prator sent against him. Division between the revolted slaves. Crixus is defeated and killed. Victories gained by Spartacus over the three Roman Generals. Three bundred prisoners forced to fight as Gladiators to bonour the funeral of Crixus. Spartacus marches against Rome. Luxury and bad discipline in the Roman armies. Crassus the Prætor is charged with the war against Spartacus. His severity. He decimates a cobort. He forces Spartacus to retire towards the straits of Sicily. Spartacus endeavours in vain to pass over part of bis troops into Sicily. Crassus shuts him up in Bruttium by lines drawn from sea to sea. Spartacus forces the lines. Terror of Craffus. He gains an advantage that revives his bopes. New victory of Crassus. One of bis lieutenants, and bis Quastor are defeated. Last battle, in which Spartacus is defeated and killed. Vanity of Pompey, who baving defeated a body of the flying

flying flaves, is for ascribing the glory of terminating the war to bimself. Oration decreed to Crassus. - DETACHED FACTS. Varro Lucullus makes conquests in Thrace, and triumphs. Other Proconsuls of Macedonia, who before him bad made war against the Thracians. New collection of the Sibyl's verses made on all sides. Contests concerning the Tribuneship. Curio, an Orator of a fingular kind. Infraction of Sylla's Law against the Tribunes. The Tribuneship reinstated in all its rights by Pompey. Scarcity of Provisions in Rome, whilst the Pirates were masters of the sea. Quastorship of Cicero. Mortification which be suffers on that occasion. He chooses to reside always at Rome. Youth of Cæsar. He retires into Asia. He returns to Rome after Sylla's death. He accuses Dolabella. He returns into Afia. He is taken by Pirates, whom he afterwards causes to be crucified. After his return to Rome, be labours to conciliate the favour of the People. He unites debauchery with ambition. He constantly pursues the plan of reviving the faction of Marius. His Questorship in Spain. Effect of a statue of Alexander's upon bim. WAR OF THE PIRATES. Rife and progress of the power of the Pirates. Servilius Isauricus makes war against them with success, but without destroying them. Command of the seas given to the Prætor M. Antonius. He is shipwrecked on a cruize on the island of Crete. He dies of grief in effect. His easy and profuse disposition. The Pirates become more powerful than ever.

Spariaces is alcorated

Pampey, rely become defeated a body

N compiling the history of preceding times Multitude I complained of the scarcity of facts; but and comin this place the multiplicity of them perplexes plication me. The disposition of so vast a subject, as the Roman History now becomes, is one of the greatest difficulties I experience in writing it. The war of Spartacus agrees in point of time with the end of that of Sertorius. The war with the Pirates had been continued throughout a long feries of years, both before and after the events I have just related. The third war of Mithridates begins two or three years before the death of Sertorius. At the fame time the Romans made war in Thrace and Macedonia. Add the facts, which relates to the internal affairs of the commonwealth, and pass in Rome; besides particular circumstances, that concern illustrious personages, in respect to whom every thing is material. We fee hear no doubt a multiplicity of matter, in which it is very hard to avoid confusion.

The best choice I can make is in my opi- Order in nion, to follow, as I have already done, the which they plan laid down for me by Mr. Rollin, my ma-will be diffter and model; and by his example, not to confine myself so rigorously to chronological order, as to neglect, at the same time, the connexion of facts. I shall therefore separate as much as possible the great subjects: and as the war with Mithridates is the most important of all those I have just mentioned, That I intend to treat by itself. That of the Pirates, of which the order I have laid down to myself, has not permitted me hitherto to speak, is of an older date. I shall therefore give it the first place, at least in respect to every thing that preceded X 3 the

TERENTIUS, CASSIUS, Confuls.

the command of the sea given to Pompey. am going to begin with the war of Spartacus, which is a kind of detached part; and I shall give an article a place after it, in which I shall treat of less considerable wars, and a great number of detached facts.

WAR of SPARTACUS.

A. R. 679. Ant. C. 73. M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUCULLUS.

C. CASSIUS VARUS.

We have feen Sicily twice reduced to extremities by the revolt of flaves. Italy in its turn experienced the same misfortune, and had entire cause to perceive, how great an evil the

multiplicity of flaves is to a state.

Origin of the war of Spartacus. of that General, and his Arft condition. Plut. in Craff. Appian. Car. 1. 1. Flor. III. 20. Orof. V. 14.

One Lentulus, in the city of Capua, caused a great number of gladiators to be taught their Character art, most of them either Gauls or Thracians by birth, who had been reduced to that fad flate, not by any crimes, but folely by the injustice of him who had bought them. Of that number two hundred entered into a plot to make their escape. But their defign having been discovered, only twenty-eight were capable of putting it in execution, and fled with no other arms than kitchen-knives and fpits, which they found at hand. Nothing, in appearance, could be more contemptible, nor less likely to make the Capital of the Universe tremble. But befides that in a Government, where great numbers are discontented with their condition, the least commotions are to be feared, those fugitive flaves had a man at their head, who was alone worth an army; a man of ability and valour, intrepid in dangers, equally knowing how to employ stratagem and force, capable A. R. 679. of refources in adversity, and of a wife mode- Ant. C. 73. ration in prosperity; in a word, a man, to whom fortune feemed to have done the greatest injustice, by uniting in his person the condition of a flave with the talents of an Heroe.

Spartacus, every body fees it is of him I speak, was born in Thrace, and had served amongst the auxiliary troops of the Romans. Having been taken prisoner, on what occasion we have no account, he was fold for a flave, and destined by his masters to be made a gladiator: But his spirit was too great to be reconciled to fo infamous a profession; and it was he, that perswaded the companions of his fortune rather to hazard their lives in the defence of their liberty, than for the cruel pleafure of spectators. He however was not the only leader of the band. Crixus and Oenomaus were affociated with him in the command: which divifion of authority was not one of the leaft difficulties, that Spartacus experienced in the course of his enterprize.

As foon as he had quitted Capua, they met First suca carriage laden with the arms of gladiators for coffes of another city. They stopped and seized them; Spartacus, and those arms, though little fit for war, were still better than their spits and knives. But the people of Capua coming out to attack them in a ftrong place, to which they had retired. Spartacus defeated them, and killed a great number of them; and having taken their spoils, he saw himself thereby in a condition to give his little troop arms truly military. They were much rejoiced to renounce weapons, which they confidered as difgraceful; and from

X 4

gladiators they now became foldiers.

This

A.R. 679. This first success augmented their number, Ant. C. 73. but not sufficiently yet to embolden them to keep the field: and Claudius Pulcher, who was fent from Room against them, found them posted upon mount Vesuvius. He incamped at the foot of that mountain, occupying the only practicable way, that led to the fummit; and supposed, that he had effectually shut up the rebels, because all the rest was only steep rocks and precipices. But no ways are impracticable to valour animated by despair. The flaves made themselves very strong and high ladders of the wild vine branches, that they found upon the fpot in abundance, and by their help descended all of them along the rock, except one, who at first remained above, to take care of the arms, and having thrown them down to his comrades, when they were in the plain, descended also in his turn, and re-joined them. Spartacus did not content himself with escaping from the enemy: he attacked the Romans when they least expected him, defeated them, took their camp, and in that manner gained a fecond victory.

Increase of bis forces.

A ms
grossly
forged.

It was at this time that the flaves of all the neighbouring countries came in to range themfelves around their deliverer. Their number foon increased to ten thousand: and as Spartacus had not arms for so great a multitude, he was forced to call in the aid of industry. They made shields of basket-work, which they covered with skins of beasts newly killed; and all the iron they could get, they forged into swords and other offensive weapons. They also seized some study, in order to have cavalry.

ersit foldermost what star right With

With these forces they committed terrible A.R. 679. ravages throughout all Campania. (a) Horace Excesses regretted the excellent wines, of which those into which flaves by plundering then deprived the luxury the flaves and delicacy of the Roman tables. But that run against the will of had been a small matter, if they had contented Spartacus. themselves so. In the towns and even important cities, as Cora, Muceria, Nola, which they took and plundered, they inflicted a thoufand cruelties and outrages upon fuch, as had the misfortune to fall into their hands. Spartacus did his utmost to oppose these excesses; and employed both remonstrances and requests. But every thing was in vain to fuch abject fouls. whose insolence was blown up by success and victory, and who greedily indulged the inhuman pleasure of revenging themselves by all possible indignities and inflictions upon those they had formerly feared.

Rome at length perceived, that this was a p. Variwar of a serious nature, and the Prætor, P. nius the Varinius, was made to set out with an army. Prator, But he no sooner arrived than one of his defeated by Lieutenants, called Furius, who commanded a detachment of two thousand men, was defeated by Spartacus. Some time after, Cossinius, whom Plutarch terms the Counsellor and Collegue of Varinius, suffered himself to be surprized in Lucania. The enemy were very near taking him in the bath: his troops were defeated, his camp forced, and himself killed

upon the spot.

There was however an occasion, wherein Frontin. Spartacus was shut up in a defile by the Prætor. Strat. IL.

(a) Spartacum fi quâ potuit vagantem
Fallere testa. Hor. Od. III. 14.

A. R. 679. Ant. C. 73.

is thing sold

But he extricated himself by stratagem out of that difficulty. To amuse and deceive the Romans, he caused posts to be erected before the gate of his camp, which supported dead bodies, clothed and completely armed, in order that they might be taken at a distance for advanced guards and fentinels. The enemy were thereby affured, that his army continued in its camp, while he was making it file off in the rear by favour of the night. Having escaped this danger, he resumed all his superiority, beat Varinius on several occasions, and even at last took his fasces, which from thenceforth he caused to be born before himself.

Moderation and wisdom of Spartacus in prosperity. Plut.

5, 22

for O. III 12.

In this height of prosperity, Spartacus thought like a wife and moderate man. He faw, that it was impossible for him to triumph over the Roman power, and that he must necesfarily fink under it fooner or later. He therefore resolved to march his army towards the Alps, in order, that after having paffed those mountains, the Gauls and Thracians, which were the two principal nations, that composed his army, might retire to their respective homes, there to enjoy in perfect fafety a liberty it had cost them so much to acquire. But so wise a counsel was rejected. Those slaves, hitherto always victorious, and who faw themselves forty thousand in number, full of a frantic confidence, and allured by the hopes of booty, thought it better to plunder Italy, without much regarding the confequences. There was however an occasion, wherein Process

Sparticus was muc upon a deale by the Prestor. Seat 11

metages rener top & mar L. Geilius

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L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA

10 10 A. R. 6%.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CLODIANUS. Ant. C. 72.

Rome faw itself threatened with a very great The true and imminent danger, whilft her armies were Confuls fuccessful in more remote countries. Pompey and a had compleated the reduction of Sertorius's fent aparty in Spain: Lucullus gained great victories gainst over Mithridates in the east. And notwith- Spartacut. standing a state so powerful abroad, apprehended becoming the prey of a gladiator. For the troops of Spartacus increased perpetually, and already amounted to feventy thousand men. the Romans in their terror made three armies take the field, two commanded by the two Confuls, and a third under the Prætor Q. Arrius. And they had the greater reason to hope fuccess with such great forces, as a division had arose among the enemy.

I have faid, that the revolted flaves were Division most of them Gauls or Thracians by nation, between This difference of country formed two parties, the rebel which had each their chief. The Gauls ad-Crixus is hered to Crixus, their countryman, and the defeated Thracians to Spartacus. (The third chief, Oe- and killed. nomaus, had been killed in one of the battles of the preceding year.) Spartacus (could not keep the Gauls within the bounds of their duty. Their pride and audacity induced them to feparate from him; and under the command of Crixus, they threw themselves into Apulia, and laid waste the country. But they had foon reason to repent their imprudence. The Consul Gellius and the Prætor Arrius fell upon

them near Mount * Garganus, and of thirty * Mount thousand men, of which their body consisted, St. Angekilled lo.

A. R. 680 killed twenty thousand. Crixus himself fell in

the action, fighting valiantly.

Victories gained by Spartacus over the three Ro-

So great a difaster did not disconcert Spartacus. He directed his march through the Appennines, still pursuing his design of gaining the Alps, and of quitting Italy. man Gene- Conful Lentulus advanced to meet him. that General, of whom Sallust doubts *, whether he had less capacity, or more vanity and rashnefs, was not an adverfary qualified to make head against Spartacus. He was defeated, and his army put to the rout. The Victor then moved back against the other Conful Gellius, who was returning from Apulia to inclose him between himself and his Collegue. Spartacus spared him half the march; and though Arrius had been joined by the Conful, he defeated them both in a pitched battle.

Three bunfoners forced to fight as to honour of Crixus. Appian.

Spartacus on this occasion thought his victory dred pri- not sufficient, and was resolved to add insult to it. Every body knows, that it was the custom of the Romans to make Gladiators combat at gladiators, the funerals of illustrious persons. caused the same honour to be paid to the manes the funeral of his companion Crixus: and having chosen three hundred of the bravest prisoners he had taken in his two victories, he forced them to fight round the funeral pile he had erected; without doubt to shew the Romans, that if they delighted in feeing human blood shed, themselves might be exposed to the same treatment. He caused all the rest of the prisoners, and the carriage-horses unfit for service, to be killed. He also burnt all the useless baggage taken from the enemy; and feeing that his

Perincertum stolidior an vanior. Sall. Hift. 1. IV. fuccesses.

fuccesses had augmented the number of his A.R. 680. foldiers to an hundred and twenty thousand, Spartacus he had the boldness to form the design of marches amarching against Rome.

He was not far from it, as the Confuls in Rome. conjunction had marched with what troops they could draw together, to post themselves in his way in * Picenum. That obstacle seems * Marcato have disconcerted the plan of Spartacus. diAncona, But he revenged himself upon the Proconsul, C. Cassius, and the Prætor, Cn. Manlius,

whom he beat, and reduced to fly.

The Senate was extremely diffatisfied with all the Generals of this year; and with great reason: For so many defeats upon the necks of each other, could not proceed solely from the bravery and good conduct of the enemy.

Luxury and sloth prevailed in the Roman ar-Luxury mies; the discipline was void of vigour; the and bad military rewards were lavished, without waiting the Roing till they were deserved; and Cato resused man arthose, which the Consul Gellius offered him, mies. under whom he served, being unwilling to accept honours that he said were not his due.

CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES.

P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.

A. R. 681. Ant. C. 71.

The new consuls would probably have con- Crassus ducted affairs no better than those of the pre-the Praceding year. Nothing is known concerning tor, is Austidius. Lentulus Sura is the same, who with the afterwards conspired with Catilina, and was war aftrangled on that account in Cicero's Consul-gainst ship. In consequence Crassus was the sole re-Spartacus. Plut. in source of the Commonwealth, who was then Crass. Prætor, and in Sylla's war had given proofs

A.R. 681. of his valour and ability. He received orders to march against Spartacus; and his reputation induced many of the principal citizens to ac-

company him, in that war.

His feverity. He causes a

He foon shewed himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him. For, having taken cobort to be upon him the command of the army in Pidecimated, cenum, he detached Mummius, at the head of two legions, with orders to observe the motions of the enemy, but without hazarding a battle, or even a skirmish. Mummius executed that order ill; and believing the occaflon favourable, he engaged the enemy, with a fuccess, that proved the Prætor's wisdom. The Roman soldiers sied in a cowardly manner, and many returned to their camp, without their arms, which they had thrown away, to fly more commodiously. Crassus acted then as a great Captain, who knows, that discipline is absolutely necessary in an army; and that feverity is its great principle. He did not content himself with reprimanding Mummius sharply; but out of the foldiers, who had done their duty worst, he chose five hundred, whom he caused to be decimated. Fifty of them were executed ignominiously in the fight of the whole army, upon which that example made the greater impression, as it was in a manner new, and nothing of the like nature had been practifed during a great length of time. Befides which, on giving arms to those, who had loft them, Craffus obliged them to find furcties for those arms, as they had kept the first fo ill. This degrading precaution, which at the same time threatened them with a pecuniary punishment, made them more careful to preserve their arms, both out of honour A.R. 68r. and interest.

These troops having in effect learnt to sear He forces their general's severity more than their enemy's Spartacus swords, soon retrieved their honour. Crassius to retire cut a body of ten thousand slaves in pieces, of towards whom two thirds were left upon the field of Messina. battle; and soon after he gained an advantage over Spartacus himself, whom he forced to

gain Lucania, and retire toward the fea.

Spartacus had his defign in approaching Spartacus Rhegio and Sicily. That island had already endeabeen the theatre of two wars with flaves; and wain to he did not despair, if he could only transport pass some some part of his troops thither, to rekindle a part of his fire not well extinguished, and which wanted troops into only a little aid to break out again with more fury than ever. And fortune even feemed at first to favour his hopes. There were in the Strait some ships of the Pirates, with whom he treated for transporting two thousand of his troops to Sicily. But the Pirates having received his money broke their engagement with him, and fleered a different course. He had so great a Flor. HI. defire to go to Sicily, that he even tried to 20. crofs the Straight with floats and rafts. It was in vain. The rapidity of the sea, confined in this place between two shores, destroyed * Calabfuch weak machines, and presently shewed Crassus him the impossibility of fucceeding. In the shuts up mean time Craffus had followed him in his Spartacus march. Spartacus in consequence found him-in Brutfelf hemmed up in the peninfula of * Bruttium; lines a narrow country for so great an army, in which drawn his enemy undertook to confine him.

The nature of the place itself gave Craffus to sea.

that idea. The extremity of Italy on the fide

of Sicily forms a peninsula joined only to the

main-

A R. 681 main-land by an ifthmus of about twelve leagues Ant. C. 71. over. Crassus caused this isthmus to be shut up with a fosse of fifteen feet in depth, and as many in breadth, fortified with a strong and high wall. And that work, which must have been very great and difficult, was finished in a very fort time. an it is some shull own mody

Spartacus forces the lines

Spartacus had at first shewn little attention to the enterprize of the enemy, and had taken no pains to diffurb their workmen. His thoughts were folely intent on arming his people; and as he was near the fea on all fides, he invited merchants to bring to his camp, not gold and filver, but iron. Of this he got a great quantity, caused arms to be forged, and fupplied all his troops abundantly with them. But when he faw the lines compleated, preffed by famine, and not being able to draw provisions either from the country, which he occupied and had ate up, or from elsewhere, because it was not in his power to remove and extend himself, he perceived the greatness of his danger, and resolved to force the barriers opposed against him. His first attempts were not successful: he lost abundance of foldiers, and was repulsed. To prevent his troops from being discouraged, and to reanimate them by despair, he caused a prisoner to be crucified at the head of his camp; in order that they might fee with their own eyes the punishment, to which they were also referved, if they did not place victory on their fide, and should fall into the hands of the Prætor. At length having observed a night, very rough and tempeltuous with wind and fnow, he found means to fill up a part of the fosse with earth and fafcines, and passed his whole army over it. 1868 eulary forms a pentalola joined only to the

Crassus, who believed he kept Spartacus A.R. 681. entirely thut up, and expected to conquer him Terror of without striking a blow, was in such a conster- Crassus. nation to fee his prey escape him, and so terrified with the calamities, with which he faw Italy again threatened, that in his first emotions of fear, he wrote to the Senate, that it was necessary to recall both Varro Lucullus, who was on his return from the war of Thrace, and Pompey, who having entirely re-established the tranquillity of Spain, was on his way home. He however did not place his whole confidence He gains in the aids he demanded; and having observed, an advanthat the Gaulish slaves, whom even the mis- tage that fortune and death of their former commander revives Crixus had not taught to submit with docility his hopes. to the orders of Spartacus, had separated from that able General, and formed a body apart, he fell upon them; and having put them into disorder, he would have entirely cut them in pieces, if Spartacus, who was not far off, had not made haste to extricate them out of danger. This fuccess revived Crassus's courage; and repenting then, that he had expressed timidity, and invited Generals to join him, who would deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, he made haste to prevent them.

The Gauls always incamped separate from New vic-Spartacus, and had even their particular Gene- tory of rals, Gannicius and Castus. The Prætor found Crassus. Frontin. means to deceive Spartacus, and to perswade II. 5, 34. him, that the principal part of the Roman forces were opposite to him, whilst they were really marching against the other Commanders. He gained a fignal victory. Thirty five thousand of the enemy, according to the Epitome of Livy, remained upon the spot. Plutarch makes

Vol. X.

A. R. 681. the number of the dead amount only to twelve Ant. C. 71. thousand three hundred. But he observes, that those slaves fought with so much courage, that among so great a multitude of dead, only two were wounded behind. This victory gloriously effaced the shame of the preceding defeats, which the Romans had fuftained. They recovered five Roman Eagles, twenty fix standards, and five fasces.

One of his Lieutenants and bis Queffeated. Plur.

Spartacus after so considerable a loss, thought it necessary to remove from the victor, and marched towards Apulia. Craffus detached one tor are de of his Lieutenants and his Quæstor to pursue Those officers despising an and harrass him. enemy that fled, followed him so close, that they gave him a favourable occasion for turning back against them, and giving them battle with advantage. The Romans fled in great disorder; and the Queltor being wounded escaped with great difficulty.

Last battle, in which Spartacus is defeated and killed

This fuccess occasioned the ruin of Spartacus, because his foldiers became so haughty in effect of it, that they would not pur-fue the route he had made them take, and forced him to return in quest of Crassus. fides which, another reason determined Spartacus to that conduct: this was, his having received advice, that Varro Lucullus was arrived at Brundufium from Macedonia; which made him apprehend being inclosed between two armies of the enemy. Craffus no less desired a decifive battle. Pompey approached; and as that General was extremely agreeable to the People; his friends at Rome faid publickly in the Affemblies, that it was necessary to fend him against Spartacus; and that he alone was born to terminate wars shameful to the Roman name.

Mann

name. Accordingly both Craffus and Spar- A.R. 681. tacus equally defiring a battle, they foon came to a general one, in which both fides drew out all their forces.

Spartacus, who was determined to conquer or die on this occasion, testified that resolution by a remarkable action. He killed his horse at the head of his army; saying, that if he was victorious, he undoubtedly should not want horses; and that if he was defeated, he should have no occasion for them. He fought like one in despair, endeavouring to join Crassus, and breaking through the thickest battalions for that purpose. He killed two Centurions with his own hand; but could not come at the General; and having been wounded, he continued defending himself with invincible courage, till he fell dead covered with wounds. death, all fled; and as the Victors gave no quarter, the flaughter was horrible: forty thoufand flaves remained on the field. The Romans on their side lest a thousand men: but that was compensated by three thousand Roman citizens, whom Spartacus kept prisoners, and who were recovered by the victory. The Pompey's body of that illustrious Gladiator, who may vanity, justly be ranked with the greatest Generals, was who havefought for in vain, and could not be diftinguish- ing difeated amongst the multitude of the dead.

However from this difafter a confiderable the flying number of flaves escaped, many of whom af- flaves sembled together, and formed different bands. ascribed One of these bodies consisting of about five baving thousand, having been met by Pompey, was terminated cut in pieces; and on so slight a foundation, the war to that General, out of a vanity which reflects no bimfelf. honour upon him, was for afcribing to himself Cras.

ed a small body of and Pomp.

wasto de-

Aufidius, Cornelius, Confulsi

324

A. R. 681. and robbing the real conqueror of the glory of having terminated the war. He wrote to the Senate, "that Craffus had put the flaves to

Cic. in Ver. V. 5. & L. Manil. 30.

Orof. V.

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ing differ.

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24. Appian. Senate, "that Crassus had put the slaves to "flight, but that he had terminated the rebel-"lion to the very roots." Cicero in more than one place has flattered this unjust pretension of Pompey, because he loved him, and on the contrary hated Crassus. But History has been more equitable; and Crassus has retained the honour so justly his due, of having by his vigilance, ability, and valour, in the space of six months, happily terminated a war, which had given the Romans not much less alarms, than that of Hannibal. He pursued all the remains of the sugitives, and entirely purged Italy of them. Six thousand of them, who sell alive into his hands, were crucised all

along the road from Capua to Rome.

Crassus obtained only the lesser triumph, or Ovation, on account of the contemptible condition of the enemies he had conquered. A distinction was however granted him, of which he had been very ambitious; that was permission to wear in the ceremony, not the crown of myrtle, usually worn in the Ovation, but that of laurel, which had been hitherto peculiar to the great triumph.

DETACHED FACTS.

Course Motor vern, and

A. R. 681. THE year, in which Spartacus was defeated, abounded with triumphs for the Romans.

Metellus Pius and Pompey, as we have faid above, triumphed in it over Spain; Craffus over Spartacus and the flaves; and Varro Lucullus over Thrace.

This

This Lucullus was the brother of him, whose Varro Luexploits against Mithridates we are soon to re- cullus makes conlate. He was called M. Terentius Varro Lu- quefts in cullus, because he had been adopted by one Thrace-Varro, whose names he assumed, adding for and trihis last furname that of the family, from which plut, in he was descended. The two brothers loved Lucullo. each other tenderly: and L. Lucullus, who was the e'deft, deferred ftanding for the Ediles ship, 'till his brother was capable of demand-

ing and exercifing it with him.

M. Lucullus, of whom we are speaking in this place, succeeded his brother in the Consulship; and after the year of his magistacry, having had Macedonia for his province, he behaved himself in it like a brave man and a great Captain. He carried the Roman arms a Freingreat way into Thrace, attacked the Bessi, a shem. People famous amongst the Ancients for their XCVII. ferocity, and took from them the city of Philippopolis, which still retains that name, and is fituated upon the * Hebrus, and that of Ufcudama, which many believe to be the fame with Adrianople. He seems to have designed to make war against Mithridates on one side, whilst his brother did the same on the other. For he pushed on, if we may believe Florus, as far as Flor. III. the Tanais and the Palus Mæotis. He reduced 4. also the whole couft of the Euxine Sea, from the mouth of the Danube to the Bosphorus of Thrace, and took from Apollonia, a city fituated on that coast, a Colossus of Apollo of thirty cubits high, which he placed in the Capitol. He employed only two campaigns in all these expeditions, and afterwards returned to

^{*} This River is called by the Turks Mariza.

Rome, to receive the honour of a triumph he had well deserved.

Other Proconfuls of Macedobefore Lucullus bad Tracians.

His predecessor had paved the way for him to all these conquests. This was Curio, who nia, who having been consul in 676, had been sent the year following into Macedonia. He had fubmade war jected the Dardarians, a warlike nation, who against the had in all times harrassed the Macedonians, on the North of whom they inhabited. He also conquered Mæsia, and penetrated as far as the Danube and Dacia. This is almost all we know of his exploits. But Frontinus has preferved a circumstance of his constancy, in maintaining the discipline, which ought not to be forgot.

Frontin. Stratag. IV. 1,43.

When he was preparing to fet out for his expedition against the Dardarians, one of the five legions under his command, mutinied, and declared they would not follow a rash General, who was leading his troops to certain destructi-Curio, far from giving way to their complaint, resolved to reduce them; and having made the other four legions stand to their arms, he obliged the mutineers to come without their arms or belts to chop straw, and dig a He then broke the feditious legion, without regard to all their protestations of submission and most humble intreaties, and distributed the foldiers into the other legions. General of fuch firmness, and who knew so well how to make his troops obey him, was well qualified for conquering an enemy. At his return to Rome he triumphed.

Before him two other Proconfuls of Macedonia had also made war upon the barbarous nations of that Province, Ap. Claudius, and Dolabella, who had been Confuls, the one in 673, and the other two years before. Appius Freinshem had no success; and having been taken ill, in XCI. 21. effect of the grief he had conceived on that account, he died in the Province itself. Dolar bella, either more brave or more fortunate, had succeeded better, and had obtained the honour of a triumph.

From the little we have just been saying, it appears, that Cicero had reason to say, the government of Macedonia was a (a) nursery for triumphs. That Province was continually insessed by restless and sierce nations; and their perpetual incursions presented sine occasions to the avidity, all the Roman Generals had, of acquiring an honour, which to them was the highest point of glory attainable.

The domestic events of the Commonwealth, furnish us during the years we are now running over, with a sufficiently great number of im- New col-portant facts. The first which offers, is the lection of the Sibypains taken by the Senate to repair the loss of line verses the Sybiline Books, confumed at the burning of made in the Capitol. It was in the Confulship of Cn. all Parts. Octavius and Curio, the 676th year of Rome, XCI. 23. that Deputies of the Senate were fent into Afia to collect all they could find of the Sibyl's oracles. Perhaps an earthquake, which was felt this year at * Reate, contributed to turn * Rieti. the attention of the Romans upon Religion and the gods. It was very violent, and attended with a fingular phænomenon. A kind of spark was seen to issue from a star, which on approaching the earth grew fo large, as to form a disk equal to that of the moon. The

(a) Provincia ex omnibus una maxime triumphalis. Cic. in P.f. n. 44.

fky

Iky was as light with it, as it is in a gloomy and cloudy day: and when this kind of ftar reafcended, it feemed to extend itself in length and take the form of a trail of light. I need not observe that this phænomenon was taken for a prodigy. Whether on this occasion, or fome other motive, the books of the Sibvl. which had been loft feven years, were then thought of. They collected from Erythræ, a city of Æolis, which paffed for the country of the Sibyl, Samos, Ilion, from Africa itself and Sicily, and lastly from different cities of Italy, all the verses, which went under the name of the Sibyls. They chose these, but with very little judgment; and Varro found abundance of interpolations in this collection, which he perceived from the Acrosticks or Initial Letters. However this compilation, in which chance had fufficient share, was confulted, as containing the will of the gods: except with persons of sense, who frequently laughed at it, as we shall see in the sequel.

Contefts Trilu e-Ship.

Another more important object, that occasiconcerning oned great emotions during a confiderable space of time, was the Tribunitian Power. I have faid, that Sylla extremely weakened it, and abridged its rights. But the People idolized that magistracy, which they considered as the bulwark of their liberty. Accordingly as foon as Sylla was dead, the Tribunes spared no pains for re-establishing their ancient privileges, and there was an open war between them and the Confuls upon that subject. It was particularly very warm during the Confulship of Curio, who supported the reform made by Sylla against the Tribune of Sicinius.

That Tribune had frequent contests with the Conful; and as he had the gift of raillery, he turned his adversary into ridicule very happily. and kept him employed to fome purpose. Curio, who was a fingular kind of an Orator. was profoundly ignorant, and had not the least tincture of the knowledge every one should have, that has the advantage of a liberal education. His memory frequently failed him; and Cicero tells us that one day, when they were pleading against each other, Curio on rifing up to fpeak, forgot that moment all he intended to fay; so that he was reduced to declare, that the adverse party deprived him of his memory by spells and inchantments. As to his gesture it was entirely ridiculous. He continually fwung his arms about whilft he fpoke, and thereby gave occasion for a smart joke of Sicinius. The two Confuls having appeared before the People upon the Tribunal of harangues; and Cn. Octavius, who had the gout, continuing to fit, wrapt up in cloths with plaisters and fomentations, Curio spoke in the name of both. When he had done, the Tribune addressing himself to Octavius, said: You can never sufficiently acknowledge the obligations you have to your Collegue. If he had not foung his arms about as usual, the flies would have eat you up by this time. It is a wonder, that without so many things essential to eloquence, Curio could possibly have passed for an Orator. But he had an abundant and florid elocution; and that fingle talent covered the want of all the rest to a certain degree. His adversary Sicinius was also a very bad Orator, and had nothing but abundance of impudence, with the talent of hitting the ridiculous in persons, and mimicking

DOMESTICAL

Salluft. Mift. II'. in Orat. Macri.

Change

made in

Tribunes.

ing them very pleafantly. For the rest it was not by harangues the quarrel was determined. A fhorter and more effectual method was employed. Sicinius was affaffinated; and his death with very great appearance of reason was ascribed to Curio.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate end of that Tribune, the cause he had supported still found A. R. 677. defenders: and the year following the Conful Cotta was obliged to confent, that a confider-Sylla's law able change should be made in the law passed against the by Sylla concerning the Tribuneship. The article which excluded fuch, as had been Tri-Freinshem XCII. 27. bunes, from the superior offices, was abolished.

This was gaining fomething: but much remained to be done. Several Tribunes fuccesfively pursued the same design with vigour. Cicero mentions two of them in particular, L. Quintius and M. Lollius Palicanus, men without birth or talents, but capable of impo-Brut. 223. fing upon the multitude by their impudence and (a) loquacity, which the ignorant took for eloquence, and by their eternal clamours and vehement invectives against the Senate and Grandees. The affair was however foun out fix years longer; and perhaps would not have fucceeded, through the weakness, or rather ambition, of Pompey, who with the view of conciliating the favour of the People, abandoned the maxims of Sylla, and the interests of the Aristocracy. Being become Conful after two Triumphs, at the age of four and thirty, which to another would have been the very fummit of honours, he confidered that Challen had had doing

Cic. in & pro Cluent. 110.

The Tribuneship reinstated in all its rights by Pompey.

36.1

⁽a) Palicanus, loquax magis quam facundus. Saluft. apud Quintil. IV. 2. colleg al sur la mariatis gadint

elevation only as the commencement of his greatness and fortune. His plan was to perpetuate himself, as he did, in command; by pasfing from employment to employment, and from office to office. He could execute that design only by the means of the people. The Senators were too attentive, and too much interested in preventing the excessive rise of one of their own body, not to traverse his views; whereas every thing was to be obtained from a multitude, by careffing it. He therefore feized Pomp. the occasion of attaching the People to him for ever by a fingular, and paffionately defired, fervice. When he returned from Spain, the whole People expected him as their deliverer Liv. Epit. and preserver. He did not deceive those hopes, XCVII. and he had scarce taken possession of the Confulship, when he reinstated the Tribunitian power in all its rights; an ambitious step. which he had cause to repent more than once Several remedic.lsupsi art in

Cicero however apologizes for Pompey in respect to this article, and excuses it by necessity. He (a) affirms, "that it was not possible " to obtain the People's consent, that the Tri-" buneship should not subsist; and that sooner " or later that charge must have assumed its " ancient authority. From thence he con-" cludes, it was of advantage, that Pompey, " who was wife and moderate, should acquire "the merit of that affair with the People,

posse deberi huic civitati causam nec perniciosam, & illam potestatem. Quippe ira popularem ut non posset quam tantopere populus nofter ignotam expetisset, quî posset carere cognita? Sa-

pur a flop to the depredations (a) Sensit (Pompeius non pientis autem civis fuit, obsisti, perniciosè populari civi non relinquere. Cic. de Leg. III. 26.

" rather than leave it to fome pernicious ci-" tizen, who might have abused it for subver-" ting the Commonwealth." Pompey might have had that view, which will make him less in the wrong. But it is difficult to believe. that perfonal interest did not in a great measure determine him.

Scareity of provisions at Roms, as long as the Pirates were masfea. A. R. 677.

The scarcity of provisions caused also great troubles and commotions in Rome, during the times of which we are speaking. We see from a discourse of the Consul C. Cotta, which is preferved amongst the fragments of Sallust, sers of the that the discontent and commotions of the People rose so high as to endanger the persons of the Consuls. For the rest we have no particular account of these seditions, and the cause of the evil is better known than its effects. This was the Pirates, who covering the Mediterranean with their ships, entirely interrupted commerce, and very frequently took the grain, that was bound to Rome. Several remedies were tried. The Magistrates gave largesses of corn to the multitude. The Commonwealth, conformable by a decree of the Senate, and a law paffed A. R. 679. by the Confuls Varro Lucullus and C. Caffius, bought a great quantity in Sicily, and expended folely upon this article of Sicilian corn about two hundred and twenty five thousand pounds during the three years that Varres was Prætor. But all these occasional expedients produced but a momentary convenience. It was necessary to put a stop to the depredations of the Pirates; and it was not till Pompey had purged the feas of them, that Plenty was reinstated at Rome.

Cic. in Verr. III. 163.

In this publick calamity Cicero fignalized his Cicero's zeal for the service of the State according to Quafterthe extent of the sphere in which he was then ship. confined; for he was only beginning to have a fhare in affairs of government. He was appointed Quæstor, which was the first degree of ho- A. R. 676. nours, under the Confuls Cn. Octavius and Curio, being then one and thirty years old: Cic. in and he has not left us ignorant, that he had one Pif. of the first places in that nomination. He exercised the Quæstorship the year following in A. R. 677. Sicily, in the Confulship of L. Octavius and Plut in C. Cotta. Sicily had two Quæftors, one of Cic. whom refided at Syracuse, and the other at Lilybæum. It was the latter province, that fell by lot to Cicero. He was very active in pressing the Sicilians to furnish the quantity of corn they were to fend to Rome: and his activity, which gave them fome trouble, at first occasioned complaints. But, when they had experienced his equity, mildness and diligence in business, their murmurs were changed into the greatest applauses; and they expressed their gratitude by honours, which they had not paid to any of his predecessors.

He has given us the following plan himself of his administration. "During (a) my "Quæstorship in Sicily, I sent a great quantity of corn to Rome; my conduct made the merchants applaud my justice, and the easiness of my manners; the citizens the generosity of my behaviour; the Allies my disinterestedness; in a word, every body.

(a) Frumenti in summa caritate maximum numerum miseram. Negotiatoribus comis, mercatoribus justus, municipibus liberalis, sociis

Lisd.

abstinens, omnibus eramvisus in omni officio diligentissimus, Cic. pro Plancio, n. 64.

was fenfible of my ftrict observance of every " part of my duty." A conduct fo laudable proceeded from principles still more noble and elevated, and fuch as are worthy of being proposed as models to all those, who have any share whatspever in publick authority. We cannot read the picture, which he gives us of his heart and fentiments, without admiration. " In all the (a) offices with which I have been " honoured, fays he, I always confidered the duties of them as facred and religious obli-" gations. When I was elected Quæstor, I "did not think that charge a gift conferred on " me by the People to do me honour: but a deposite, of which it was my duty to give them an account. When I was fent to exer-" cise the Quæstorship in Sicily, I conceived, that all eyes were fixed on me alone; that I was in a manner placed upon a theatre, exposed to the view of the Universe: and in consequence far from giving myself a loose to unruly appetites, I made it a law to deny myfelf even the pleafures and gratifications, which nature and necessity feem in-"dispensibly to require." Day and lo tons of bisq As Mr. Rollin has related in the Ancient

History, the discovery of the tomb of Archi-

of corn to Rome; my conduct made the

· Vol. X. Hift. of medes by Cicero during his Quæftorship, I Syracuse.

> (a) Ego quos adhuc mihi ut omnium oculos in me Magistratus populus Roma- unum conjectos arbitrater; nus mandavit, fic eos accepi, ut me omnium officiorum obstringi religione arbitrarer. Ita Quæstor sum factus, ut mihi honore illum, non folum datum, fed etiam

creditum ac commissum putarem. Sic obtinui Quasturam in provincia Sicilia,

ut me quæfturamque meam quafi in aliquo Orbis terræ theatro verfari existimarem; ut omnia semper quæ jucunda videntur esse, non modò his extraordinariis cupiditatibus, sed etiam ipsi naturæ ac necessitati denegarem. Cic. in Verr. 1. V. n. 35.

fhall

shall not repeat it here. But I cannot dispense with giving an account of the slight mortification, which the vanity of our new magistrate experienced on his return to Italy, and which he has given us himself in very ingenuous terms.

From what we have said it is evident, that slight Cicero took great honour to himself from his mortifica-Quæstorship; and he owns, that he was so full tion of Ciof it, when he set out from Sicily, that he feed to bis believed nothing else was talked of at Rome. Queftor-He was, in confequence, much aftonished ship. when paffing through Puzzuoli at the time. when people drank the waters, which drew together much company at that place, that the first person he met, asked him, when he set out from Rome, and what news he brought from the city. I don't come from Rome, replied he, with an air of some mortification, but from the Province. O, true, said he who had questioned him, it is from Africa, I think. Cicero upon this was more piqued than before, and answered with some warmth, that Sicily, and not Africa, had been his province. A third then mixed in the conversation, and reproaching the first's ignorance of affairs; Don't you know, faid he, that Cicero bas been Quastor at Syracuse? But it was at Lilybæum, as we have faid. On this last attack, Cicero behaved like himself; he (a) renounced the defire of being confidered as a person of importance, mingled with the croud, and was contented to pass for one, who was come to Puzzuoli to drink the waters with the rest.

bellores, baulos since atque

⁽a) Destiti stomachari, & me unum ex ils seci qui ad aquas venissent. Cic. pro Planc. n. 65.

Herefolves to fix at Rome for good and all.

This trivial adventure caused him to make fome very ferious reflections. He conceived (a), that the Roman People had little regard to what flruck only their ears, and that it was necessary to act upon them by their eyes. From that moment he made it his plan to fix in the city, to shew himself industriously to his fellow-citizens, to make the Forum in a manner his refidence: and founding all his hopes of fortune upon his eloquence, he not only laboured to acquire a great name by frequent and shining Orations, but devoted himself to the occasions of all fuch as sought his affistance, fo that he was acceffible at all hours of the day and night, and no one ever found his doors fhut.

Youth of Cafar.

All the world knows, Cæsar was the only rival that Cicero had to sear in respect to the glory of eloquence. The former exercised himself much in it during his youth. But his ambition differed widely from that of Cicero. The latter sought only to make a great figure in the Commonwealth; and for that his eloquence suffered. Cæsar aspired at making himself master of it: and only arms could enable him to attain that point.

If he had been capable of contenting himfelf with the most exalted fortune, to which a citizen could aspire in a free State, his birth, supported by the greatest genius that ever was, and the assemblage of all the talents in his

(a) Posteaquam sensi populum Romanum aures hebetiores, oculos acres atque acutos, habere, destiti quid de me audituri essent homines cogitare; seci ut postea quotidie me præsentem viderent: habitavi in oculis, pressi forum: neminem à congressu meo neque janitor meus neque somnus absterruit. Idem. ibid. n. 66.

person

person, could not fail of acquiring him it. The Julian House, of which he was descended, was Patrician; and having been transplanted from Alba to Rome by King Tullus Hostilius, Liv. I. 30. from the beginning of the Commonwealth, had been adorned with the highest dignities. And this is incontestable. But as all high Nobility has its chimæra's, the Julii traced back their origin to fabulous antiquity, to Iulus, the fon of Æneas, and consequently the grandson of Venus. The furname of Cæfar was not very antient in that House. The first who had it. as History informs us, was Sex. Julius Cæsar, who was Prætor the 544th year of Rome. It is generally believed, that this furname denotes an infant, for the birth of whom it was necesfary * to cut open its mother's womb: and * A cæfo that very dangerous and uncommon operation matris utero. has retained the name from hence of the Cafa- Phn. VII. rian operation. According to another etymo-9. logy at least as probable, + Cæsar signifies a + A Cæchild born with long hair.

It was therefore from that branch of the Julian family the person of whom we are speaking was descended, who rendred the name of Cæsar the most illustrious of the Universe. All that we know of his father was, that he had been Prætor, and that he died suddenly one morning, putting on his shoes and stockings, when his son was in his sixteenth year. Cæsar's mother's name was Aurelia, a Lady of merit and virtue, and of a very noble samily, though Plebeian. She is praised for having De caustaken great care of the education of her son: corr. Eloq. but she succeeded much more in respect to ta-n. 28.

lents than manners.

Vol. X.

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Cafar in Afia. Suet. in Cæf. 2.

We have already spoke of Cæsar on the occasion of the dangers he incurred in the Dictatorship of Sylla: and we left him in a manner a fugitive, and obliged to go and ferve in Afia under Thermus, to avoid the wrath of that Whilft he was in that counterrible Dictator. try, he blemished his reputation irretrievably. He went twice to the court of Nicomedes King of Bithynia; and his commerce with a Prince of the most corrupt manners, gave occasion for bad reports, which drew upon him, as long as he lived, the sharpest reproaches, both from his enemies, and even from his foldiers. He was extremely offended at them, and frequently declared and protested in the strongest terms to remove those infamous sufpicions, but could not fucceed in it. For the rest, he distinguished himself from thenceforth by his valour; and at the taking of Mitylene, which was the only one of all the cities of Afia, that had not laid down its arms, after the reduction of Mithridates by Sylla, he acquired the honour of a Civic Crown, which was given him by his General.

to Rome after the de th of

Sylla.

From thence he went to the army of Servilius, who was then making war against the He returns Pirates in Cilicia. But he did not flay long there. As foon as he was informed of Sylla's death, he returned fuddenly to Rome, principally from the hope of feeing new troubles arife, and to take advantage of the commotions. of Lepidus. His defign was to join that faction, in which he was besides much sollicited to engage. But the incapacity, which he perceived in the Chief, and the little strength of the party disgusted him; and he did not think it prudent to embark in fo ill-concerted an enterprize.

enterprize. His inclination for that faction, however, manifested itself by the ardour with which he laboured, as we have observed in its place, to obtain an amnesty in favour of those,

who engaged in it.

Every thing being quiet in the Commonwealth, Cæsar, who had not yet sufficient power to excite commotions in it, followed the example of young persons desirous of acquiring a name, and accused an illustrious and powerful man. This was Dolabella, Conful in He accuses 671. who on his return from his government Dolabella. of Macedonia, had obtained the honour of a triumph. Cæfar at only one and twenty years Aud. de of age undertook this great affair, and at-caus. corr. tempted to cause Dolabella to be condemned Eloq. c. as guilty of extortion. The cause was good in 34. itself, and he produced a great number of wit Caf. nesses against the accused. He pleaded it in perfection, and his discourse is cited above an hundred years after his death, as not to be read without admiration. He however lost his labour. Hortensius and Cotta, who were then the leading men at the bar, faved Dolabella by their eloquence, and made Cæsar miscarry in a cause, that he believed infallibly his.

The bad success of this affair gave him af-He retires fliction: and partly to deaden the great noise to Asia. it had made, and partly to perfect himself in eloquence, he resolved to absent himself, and to go to Rhodes to hear Apollonius Molo, the famous Rhetorician, whose taste and abilities had also been of use to Cicero. But in his passage he was taken by Pirates, near the isse of Pharmacusa, which lies opposite to the city

of Miletus in Asia.

He is taken Cæsar, when prisoner to wretched Pirates, by Pirates; behaved to them as if he had been their mawi om he ster. First, on their asking twenty talents for after. his ransom, he ridiculed them, and told them, causes to be they did not know who their prisoner was:
crucified. he promised them sifty. He afterwards made Suet. & all his retinue set out, whom he sent into the

he promised them fifty. He afterwards made all his retinue fet out, whom he fent into the neighbouring cities to collect that fum for him. and remained thirty eight days amongst those wretches, with only his physician and two domestics, retaining, during all that time, not only a perfect fecurity, but an air of command; fo that when he went to repose, if they disturbed him with their noise, he sent them orders to keep filence. In order to pass away the time, he amused himself with composing pieces of poetry, or oratorial discourses, which he afterwards read to those Pirates; and if they did not admire them, he called them fools, and Barbarians. For the reft, he made himself familiar with them, and shared in their sports and exercises; but always sustaining his rank fo well, that he threatned them from time to time with crucifixion. The Pirates were much pleased with the easy behaviour of their prifoner, and were far from taking his menaces as ferious. He however realized them; and when the fum he had promifed, was brought to him, having caused himself to be carried to Miletus, with that activity, which is one of the most distinguishing parts of his character, he immediately affembled, and fitted out all the small vessels he found in that port, and furprized his Pirates, who were still at anchor near the isle of Pharmacusa. He beat them, funk some of their ships, and took others, which he carried to Miletus; and caused the Pirates

Pirates to be put in prison. He immediately went to Junius, the Proconful of Asia, who was in Bithynia, and asked his orders for the punishment of the prisoners. That Proconful was weak, and avaricious. The glory, that young man had acquired, excited his envy; and he would have been very glad to have feized the booty, which was confiderable. consequence, he answered, that he did not intend to have those prisoners executed; but to fell them. This did not answer Cæsar's purpole. He went back with the same expedition to Miletus; and before the Proconful's orders could arrive, by his own private authority he caused the Pirates to be crucified, as he had often threatned them: Only, to mitigate the punishment, he ordered their heads to be cut off first.

From thence he went to Rhodes, according to his former design, where he resided some time. But exercises of eloquence did not suffice to employ Cæsar, especially when there was occasion to use arms. Accordingly, as Suet. c. 4. Mithridates, who was then preparing for his third war with the Romans, was beginning to raise the States of Asia, Cæsar went to that Province; and, though a private person, having drawn some troops together, he drove away one of the Commanders of Mithridates, and confirmed the cities of Asia, who had began to waver in the alliance of the Romans.

On his return to Rome, he employed all At his repossible methods for making himself friends, turn to conciliating the multitude, and drawing all labours to eyes upon him; frequent pleadings, manners conciliate affable and full of politeness to the lowest of the favour the people, and magnificence in his retinue, of the People.

Z 3 equipages Plat

equipages, and table. His enemies did not form right conjectures of the consequences, his pomp would induce. They believed, that he would foon be ruined by fuch excessive expences, and that his credit would expire with his patrimony. And indeed he did ruin himself; for before he possessed any Magistracy, he was thirteen hundred talents in debt, that is, near two hundred thousand pounds sterling. But when he had gone fo far, his power had taken fuch very deep root, that it was impossible to reduce it. (a) The weakest beginnings, says Plutarch, if not taken in time, become formidable at length, acquiring, even from the contempt of them, a facility of augmenting with impunity. In consequence, it was found, that Cæsar, inflead of having purchased a short-lived splendor at a great expence, had in reality facrificed nothing in comparison with what he had gained. The ambitious defigns he then revolved in

He unites debauchery his mind, more eafily escaped the penetration of with Am- the most discerning, as he was a man of pleabition.

Snet. c. 25.

fure, or, more properly speaking, abandoned to debauchery.

All the world knows the faying, that conveys the most horrible idea of his manners, that he was every woman's man, and He had given into this every man's woman. course very early, as he had an intrigue with Servilia, Cato's fifter, and Brutus's mother, in the life-time of her hufband, who was killed when Cæfar was only eighteen years old. Peo-

Plut.

ple in confequence could not conceive, that he

⁽a) Ουδεμίαν αρχήν πράγένδελεχές, έκ το καταφεονηθήναι par איזריסי פדש עוגפמי, τό μη κωλυθήνας λαθέσαν. ν ε ταχύ σοιη μεγάλην τὸ

could unite fo ferious and fo arduous a defign as that of changing the form of the Commonwealth with a life, that feemed intirely engroffed by follies and debauch. Cicero himfelf, whose penetration was so great, and who forelaw events at fo great a distance, was at a loss in respect to Cæsar. "I discovered, said " he, in all his enterprizes, and his whole con-" duct, a plan continually purfued for raising " himself to the tyranny. But when I saw " him to foft in his dress and manner of liv-46 ing, with effeminate gestures, and his hair " in fuch nice order, I could not believe that fuch a man was capable of forming and executing the design of subverting the Roman Commonwealth."

It is not to be doubted, but he had that ob- He conject in view from his earliest years: For we fi mtly find no step of his, that does not tend to that plan of reend, and does not tend to it in a manner de-viving terminate and constantly pursued. He always Mariu's shews himself intent upon re-animating the faction. faction of the People, reviving the party of Marius, and opposing that of Sylla. I have already related feveral circumstances of this nature, and the fequel will be conformable to them. The first office which he obtained by Suet. c. 5. the suffrages of the People, was the Tribune-Thip of the foldiers; and in that charge he supported with all his credit those, who were for restoring to the Tribunes of the People all the rights and authority, of which Sylla had deprived them.

He discovered himself still much more at the Plat. funeral of Julia his aunt, the widow of Marius the elder. He made a speech in praise of that Lady in the Forum, according to cus-

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tom.

tom, and ventured to have Marius's images carried in that procession, which had not appeared in public since Sylla's Dictatorship. This boldness occasioned clamours against Cæsar; but the People answered them with applauses, and were never tired with clapping their hands; admiring with transports of joy the courage of him, who in some measure after so many years recalled the honours of Marius from the shades below.

On the occasion of the death of his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, Cæsar still increased the good-will and affection the People had conceived for him. Hitherto it had been customary to make funeral Orations only upon antient Ladies, and not upon those who died young. Cæsar was the first, who rendered that honour to his wife's memory: and thereby, besides continually renewing the tenderness of the People for Marius's faction, of which Cinna had been one of the principal supports, he caused himself to be considered as a man, who had sentiments, and who was no less estimable for the goodness of his heart, than for a thousand other shining qualities.

His Quaftorship in Spain.

He made these orations upon his aunt and wise, when Questor; and afterwards set out for Spain, where he was to exercise that office under the Prætor, or Proconsul, Antistius Vetus. By the Roman laws the tie between a Questor and the superior Magistrate was sacred, as we have observed elsewhere. Cæsar was faithful to this maxim; and afterwards extended to the son of Vetus the friendship and gratitude, which he believed he owed the father,

It was in this province that on feeing a Effect statue of Alexander, he sighed, reproaching himStatue of Alexander

Statue of Alexander the King of Macedonia had subjected the great- bad upon est part of the universe. Struck with that bim. thought, he asked his discharge, and quitted Suet. c. 7. Spain before the time, animated with a new defire to fignalize himfelf, and aggrandize his fortune. On arriving in Italy he feized the first occasion that offered for exciting troubles: and as he knew, that the States of Gallia * Transpadana, who only enjoyed the title and privileges of Latines, ardently defired to obtain the freedom of Rome, he made a tour through their country, to exhort them to act: and would have made them rife and take arms, if the Consuls had not kept the troops in Italy, which were to have been fent against Mithridates. Thus this attempt of Cæfar's proved abortive but he had not less boldness in effect for trying new enterprizes, as we shall see in refuming his History, when we come to speak of his Ædileship. I am now going to relate the beginnings of the war with the Pirates, in order to proceed afterwards to that, renewed by Mithridates for the third time against the Romans.

BEGINNINGS of the War with the Pirates.

HE Pirates were originally of Cilicia. They Origin and owed their first rise to the civil discord, which progress of

(a) Gallia Cifalpina , which we now call Lombardy, was divided by the Romans into Gallia Cifpa-

dana, that is on this fide of rates. the Po next Rome, and Trans- Strab. 1. padana, on the other fide of the XIV. p.

the power of the Pi-668, 659.

for

for a great length of time prevailed between the house of the Seleucides and the Kingdom of Sy-Favoured by those dreadful troubles, and the weakness of the royal authority, the Cilicians carried off a prodigious number of flaves from that country. This was a certain, and extremely advantagious, trade for them; because the Romans being become rich after the taking of Carthage and Corinth, multiplied their The ifland of Delos was flaves to infinity. the Mart, where this trade was carried on, and frequently ten thousand flaves brought thither at once, were fold the same day. The Kings of Cyprus and Egypt, who had always been at war with those of Syria, saw with joy an enemy's kingdom ruined by the Pirates, and favoured their increase. The Romans neglected The remoteness of places, and other more important and more urgent cares, prevented them from suppressing a power in its beginnings, which at first appeared contemptible, but against which they had afterwards occasion to employ all the forces of their Empire.

Plut. in Pomp. Appian. Mithrid. Flor. III. 6. Orof. V. 23.

The war of Mithridates, to whose service the Pirates attached themselves, gave them means of strengthning and augmenting their force. From the siege of Athens by Sylla, their depredations had made navigation difficult and dangerous. Lucullus was harrassed by them, and was more than once reduced to use precautions against their designs, when by Sylla's order he was labouring to assemble a sleet from all the maritime countries in the alliance of the Romans.

However at that time they did not extend themselves very much. They kept in the sea between

between Crete and Cyrene, and between the Piræus and the promontory of Malæa, now called Cape Malio. Though that is no great fpace, they contented themselves with it, because they took so many and such rich prizes in it, that this sea seemed entirely golden to them, which was the name they gave it. Befides which, they were not yet fufficiently powerful to infult Sicily and Italy; and Mithridates, with whom they acted, in concert being then mafter of Asia, would not have permitted them to infult the coasts of it. But when that Prince was reduced to abandon his conquests, having no farther concern for Asia, which was then in foreign hands, he gave the Pirates their full scope, and the civil wars not permitting Sylla to check their progress, their power increased prodigiously.

Inriched by the plunder of the coasts of Asia, they were soon in a condition to fit out not only small barks, but great ships and Tri-Their number increased infinitely by the multitude of people whom the war between Mithridates and the Romans had ruined, and who fought the fublistance from the sea, which they could not find on shore. The Pirates then formed armies, and their Commanders became Generals. It was a trifling matter for them to attack navigators. They made defcents, furprized cities that were not fortified; and either stormed or besieged those which were in a condition of defence; and by these military exploits, they imagined they enobled their profession. Men, before considerable both for birth and riches, valiant and enterprizing, engaged amongst them, and far from thinking War of the PIRATES.

it a disgrace, conceived they might acquire ho-

nour from doing fo.

At length they formed a kind of Commonwealth, of which Cilicia was the centre, a country difficult to approach, and of which the coasts were covered with rocks and sands. In consequence it was a secure retreat for them, and they took their name from it. They were all called Cicilians, though they were an affemblage of almost all the nations of the east. they often removed from that centre, they had occasion to settle stations or marts upon the coafts, where they cruized, for unlading their booty: they had even in them naval Arfenals, well supplied with iron, brafs, wood, and cordage, in a word with all the munitions necessary for ships. They also built very high towers, from whence they could discover a great extent of sea, and perceive their prey at a vast diftance. And laftly they succeeded in bringing great and powerful cities into their interest, as Phaselis, Olympia, and several others, whom the commodiousness of a trade, entirely at the expence and hazard of the Pirates, and of very confiderable advantage to them, induced to make an infamous alliance with the enemies of the human race.

Muræna, whom Sylla had left in Asia, made fome flight efforts to check the rapid progress of this power; but ineffectually. It was neces-A.R 674. fary to fend both the land and fea forces from Rome under the command of P. Servilius, who makes war having been Consul the 673d year of Rome, fet out on the expiration of his Confulship for them with this war. The Pirates were so bold as to give a Roman fleet battle; and if the Proconful gained the victory over them, it was not without having

Servi.ius Hauricus against Success but without destoying bem.

having loft abundance of men. After having beaten them by fea, he purfued them into their retreats: he took and demolished many of their forts, and even two of the greatest cities in their alliance, Phaselis and Olympia. He also penetrated into the land; forced the city of Ifaura with difficulty and danger, and subjected the nations of the Isauri. But the fruit of all these conquests, and of a war made upon the spot during three years, extended to little more than the furname of Isauricus, which the victor affumed, and the pomp of a triumph, in which he very much gratified the People by the fight of a great number of Pirates made prisoners, and laden with chains. For the rest, he had gone so little to the root of the evil, that it immediately broke out again with more terror than ever, and obliged the Romans to make new efforts, which had still less success than the former. Servilius probably triumphed A R. 678. in the Consulship of Lucullus and Cotta; and Command this year the Prætor Marcus Antonius was of the seas charged with the war against the Pirates, with given to a more extensive commission than ever Roman the Prator General had exercised, and almost the same as mius. was afterwards given to Pompey for the same Cic. in purpole.

Antonius had the government and command 4. & ibid. of all the maritime coasts, that acknowledged the Roman Empire: a diftinguishing employment, but arduous, and for which he was indebted to the credit of the Conful Cotia, and the faction of Cethegus, of whom we shall speak elsewhere. It had been to be wished, that interest and cabal, in causing the office to be given him, had been capable of adding the merit necessary to filling it. This Prætor was

the

the fon of the Orator Marcus Antonius, and the father of the Triumvir; but he had neither the eloquence of his father, nor the military virtues of his fon. Sallust describes him as the most negligent of mankind, (a) extravagant and profuse to excess, and incapable of any attention, except when urged by necessity.

He milcarenterprize against Crete.

7.

The maritime countries, with the defence of ries in an which he was charged, had no other fense of the authority conferred on him, than from the the Iste of rapines he committed in them; and this Commander in chief, whose power extended over all the feas, confined himself to attacking Crete, which had furnished some troops to the King

Flor. III. of Pontus, and a retreat to the Pirates. Befides which he conducted the enterprize with a fecurity and prefumption, that brought difgrace upon the Roman name. He believed himself fo fure of victory, that, fays Florus, he carried more chains than arms in his ships. The Cretans, who hitherto, notwithstanding the immense increase of the Roman power, and in the midst of so many Kingdoms and States forced to submit to the yoke, had always retained their liberty, shewed Antonius, that they knew how to defend themselves. They advanced out to fea to meet him, defeated him, and took many of his ships; and to insult the conquered, they tied up their prisoners to the fails and rigging of their veffels, and in that manner returned in triumph into their ports.

Antonius, who was no less sudden in con-He dies, in ceiving discouragement, than he had been in effect of his rash confidence, made peace with the Cregrief.

⁽a) Perdundæ pecuniæ genitus, vacuusque curis nisi instantibus. Salluft. Hift. III.

taris, and thereby compleated his infamy. He was at least sensible of this, and even too much fo. Shame and grief feized him, and uniting with a bad habit of body, brought him to his end. He died with the furname of Creticus. which was given to him out of derision, as a monument of the bad fuccess of his expedition

against Crete.

He was a man of an easy disposition, and His easy bad only through weakness. If he plundered and profuse the Allies of the Commonwealth, it was be- disposition. cause his prodigality was continually reducing him to use expedients for raising money; and because he did not know how to refuse those about him any thing, and having many rapacious followers, he made himfelf the in- Plut in strument and support of their injustice. Plu- Ant. tarch has preferved a circumstance, which shews to what an height he was inclined to giving. He was not rich; and his wife Julia, a lady of very great merit of the house of the Cæsars, but not of the same branch with the Dictator, had the greater attention to occonomy, as she knew the prodigality of her Hufband. She had even got the afcendant of him, and he was afraid of her. One day a friend of his came to ask money of him, and he had none. He conceived the thought of wanting of being shaved, and having ordered a flave to bring him his bason for that use, which was silver, he washed his face, and dismissing the slave under some pretext, he gave the piece of plate to his friend to carry away with him. The bason being missing in the house, Julia made a great noise, and was for questioning all the slaves. Antonius was obliged to confess the thing to her, and Iulia to be patient. Marcus Antonius

nius the Triumvir perfectly resembled his father in this point.

XCVII. The Pirates become more powerful

Liv. Epit. We are to date the death of our Antonius to the 681 year of Rome. The Pirates after fo many endeavours as the Romans had used to reduce them, became in effect more infolent and powerful. Of this we shall treat circumthan ever flantially, when we come to speak of the commission given Pompey to make war with them. We are now going to give an account of the exploits of Lucullus against Mithridates. enule his produpility was continued in

ing hom to use expedients for radiog meserg and because he did not know bow to reason those about him any things and having much rapaciona followers, he made himfelt the inc fivement and Appent, of their injudica. Plan tarch has preferred a circumbancer, which it can to see iving on less non less we and plans and red word was not richyand his wile julia, a langest congreat merit of the houle of the Collect had not of the lame branch with the Dickerner, le

The End of the Tenth Volume.

ballen for that tile, which were filter, he melled his face, and diffinition the three trace? I one pieterit, he gave the closed of pleas or his

regreating in the heaty, I will ende accome ands, and the quemoning all the flower, Antonomy, was actived to contest the things of

not the steendard of him, and he was steel alls or some and he world a wife only want money of him, and had not been mid to yenous residenced to enterest to reference of being free

